

Irish Unionist Alliance.

PUBLICATIONS.

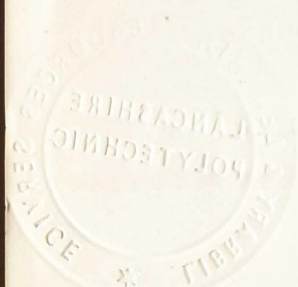
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NOTE.

THIS Volume contains the publications issued by the IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE during the last eight months of 1893, a period covering the Parliamentary contest over the Home Rule Bill in Committee, with the later history of that measure, including its ultimate ignominious rejection at the hands of the House of Lords.

A Summary of the Proceedings in Committee, with a Table of the Divisions and Majorities, will be found on pp. 1-128.


An INDEX is appended.

HUMPHREY AND ARMOUR,

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THE
HOME RULE BILL
IN
COMMITTEE,
SESSION 1893,
WITH INDEX.

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SECOND EDITION.

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THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON

BY JAMES BOSWELL

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

PRINTED BY A. MILLAR, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

1791

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NOTE.

The following pages present, in the briefest possible form, the History of the Home Rule Bill of 1893 in Committee. The publication has been compiled with the object of supplying a ready reference to the discussion on the Bill during its progress through that stage.

The Clauses are printed exactly as in the Bill.

The letters "P.D." and "T.D." refer to the publications known as the "Parliamentary Debates" and "Times Debates" respectively.

The Clauses (those discussed) are also set out as amended, additions being printed in italics, and the portions struck out printed within brackets.

An exhaustive Index appears at the close, and appended the reader will find an analysis of the principal divisions, showing the British Majorities against the proposals of the Government.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS TO THE PRESENT

The history of the United States of America is a story of growth and development. It begins with the first settlers who came to the New World in search of a better life. They found a land of opportunity and freedom, and they built a nation that has become a model for the world. The story of the United States is a story of the struggle for freedom and justice, and it is a story that continues to this day.

The story of the United States is a story of the struggle for freedom and justice. It is a story of the men and women who have fought for the rights of the oppressed, and it is a story of the triumph of the human spirit. The story of the United States is a story that has inspired the hearts of men and women everywhere.

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THE BILL IN COMMITTEE.

Clause 1.

PART I.

Legislative Authority.

1. *On and after the appointed day* there shall be in Ireland a Legislature consisting of Her Majesty the Queen and of two Houses, the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly.

The debates on this Clause extended over five [sittings, and lasted 29 hours. (May 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.)

Prior to the amendment being discussed—

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN moved the postponement of all clauses up to Clause IX.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 347; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 6.)

In the course of the debate—

Mr. GLADSTONE, referring to Clause 9, said the Government “intended to propose the plan embodied in the Bill.”—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 356; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 8.)

Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Timothy Healy, and Mr. James Lowther took part in the debate.

The Committee divided—

For Postponement	...	...	...	...	213
Against	...	...	...	...	270
				Majority	57

(Division List No. 67.)

On **Mr. DARLING'S** Amendment—page 1, line 11—
before “on,” insert:—

*“ Without in any way impairing, restricting or altering
the supreme power and authority of Parliament in all
matters, as well Local as Imperial, and over all persons
in Great Britain and Ireland.”*

Mr. DARLING quoted Mr. Parnell on Ireland's claim to
nationhood.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 362; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 10.)

The Government's objections were based on two grounds:—

- (1) The sufficiency of the Preamble;
- (2) The undesirability of limiting the supremacy by clause.

The Debate was remarkable for Mr. Gladstone's apologies
for the “inconsiderate and dangerous claims” previously put
forward by Parnellites; and the Right Hon. gentleman's claim
that Mr. Parnell had fully accepted the Bill of 1886.—(P.D., vol. XII.,
p. 368; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 11.)

After four hours' discussion and closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	233
Against the Amendment	..	...	...	285
			Majority	52

(Division List No. 69.)

Mr. BARTLEY moved:—

page 1, line 11, after word “Ireland” to insert:—

“ subordinate to Parliament.”

(P.D., vol. XII., p. 465; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 28.)

Mr. GLADSTONE refused on grounds :—

- (1) Amendment would weaken supremacy ;
 - (2) It would be a bar sinister on Irish legislature.
- (P.D. vol. XII., p. 469 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 29.)

Mr. HOBHOUSE quoted Mr. John Redmond on the “ formal compact.”—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 473 ; T.D., vol. XXIV. p. 30.)

LORD CRANBORNE quoted Home Secretary’s promise that such a clause would be accepted.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 475 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 30.)

Mr. BLAKE quoted Mr. Parnell and Mr. Chamberlain in 1886.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 479, 81 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 31.)

Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Haldane, Col. Saunderson and others spoke.

After two hours’ discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	257
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	292
				Majority	...
					35

(Division List No. 74.)

Mr. W. REDMOND moved to leave out word “ *Legislature* ” and insert word “ *Parliament*.”—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 493 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 35.)

Mr. GLADSTONE opposed on ground that Colonial Assemblies were described as “ Legislatures.”—P.D., vol. XII., p. 495 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 35.)

After an hour's discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	40
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	466

*(The Minority was made up of a few Radical and a certain number of the Irish Members.)

(Division List No. 75.)

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL moved (page 1, line 12) to leave out words:—

“and of two Houses, the Legislative Council, and”

He justified his action by the assertion that, although represented as a safeguard, the Unionists regarded the Second Chamber provided by the Bill as a sham. Under the second Schedule the Unionists would not have more than twenty votes.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 526; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 41.)

Mr. LABOUCHERE said he intended to vote as a matter of strategy. If he thought the House and the majority of the Members were in favour of one House instead of the proposed arrangement, he should certainly have pushed forward his own Amendment.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 533; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 42.)

Mr. DUNBAR BARTON, interrupted by Mr. Healy, suggested the latter should take part in the debate.

Mr. HEALY: “I am not such a fool.”—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 535; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 43.)

In the course of the debate Mr. Gladstone advocated a Second Chamber as a check and restraint.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 553; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 46.)

* RADICALS and the PARNELLITES.—The whole of the Anti-Parnellites voted with the Government, notwithstanding the presumed existence of Irish sentiment in favour of the “*restoration*” of Grattan’s *Parliament*.

Mr. JUSTIN McCARTHY, in deference to British sentiment and Irish Unionist fears, gave a most cordial and ready acceptance to the proposal for a Second Chamber.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 575; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 49.)

Mr. BOYCE quoted Continental and American systems in favour of a Second Chamber, and pointed out that the vote on a Second Chamber would be remembered later.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 588; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 52.)

Mr. BALFOUR replied to this line of attack.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 593; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 53.)

Mr. ATHERLY JONES said this hint of Mr. Bryce's really hit off the Radical difficulty. The only reason why Irishmen put up with a Second Chamber was because they regarded it as a mere toy and plaything given to the Unionist Party.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 601; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 54.)

Mr. Saunders and Mr. Wallace (P.D., vol. XII., p. 604-5; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 55,) amongst others took part in the debate.

On the question that the words "Two Houses" stand part of the Clause,

The Committee divided—

For the words	...	...	...	..	295
Against the words	...	...	...	...	244
Majority					51

(Division List No. 77.)

On the motion "that Clause I. stand part of the Bill,"

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN explained difficulty of opposition; there was no fair debate, and no amendments put down by Government;

and entire absence of information as regards the retention of members and finance. He further quoted Mr. Redmond on supremacy—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 685; T.D., p. 69;)—Mr. McCarthy on Sir Edward Reed's letter—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 686; T.D., p. 69;)—and Mr. W. O'Brien on "a measure of complete emancipation."—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 687; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 70.)

Mr. Gladstone's reply to this speech set forth

- (1) The admission that the adjustment of details, in the retention of members, was insurmountable; and
- (2) The theory that Government had to wait on formation of public opinion before deciding line of policy.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 689; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 70.)

Sir JOHN RIGBY having contended that Parliament could not divest itself of its powers,

Sir JOHN GORST quoted an Act of 1791, passed for the purpose of setting at rest doubts as to the authority of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland, and a prior Act of 1783 dealing with a similar point.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 792; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 84.)

In the course of the debate—

Sir EDWARD REED said supremacy must be preserved by means of a clear and distinct clause.—P.D., vol. XII., p. 822; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 91.)

He also referred to the rebellious and revolutionary state of mind of Irish members in the past, and said "wrongful acts done in the past remain wrongful acts still."—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 822; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 91.)

The retention of Irish members to vote on all subjects would be playing false to the country, and the conditions under which the Government had obtained support.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 824, T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 92.)

Mr. T. H. BOLTON spoke of men on the Government benches prepared to vote for any measure at the bidding of their leaders.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 830; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 92.)

After a discussion of $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours and the closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Clause ...	...	...	...	...	309
Against the Clause	...	...	...	...	267
Majority ...					42

(Division List No. 81.)

Clause II.

Powers of Irish Legislature.

2. With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this
 15 Act mentioned, there shall be granted to the Irish Legislature power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland or some part thereof.

The debate on this Clause extended over three days and occupied 20 hours. (May 15, 16, 17.)

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH moved to omit the words:—

“with the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned.”—(P.D., vol. xii., p. 83; T.D. vol. xxiv., p. 93.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked for specific details as to what Irish Parliament could do?

Mr. GLADSTONE asked if the Government accepted the Amendment and consequent ones, would Mr. Chamberlain accept the Bill?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: “Certainly not.”

Mr. GLADSTONE then replied to Mr. Chamberlain’s queries. The Bill would hand over marriage law and factory legislation, but as regards standard of value in the matter of currency—no. Speaking generally they intended to resist limits to be imposed on concerns to be handed over to the Irish Parliament. He admitted the measure had in it something of the nature of an experiment.—(P.D., vol. xii., p. 939; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 106.)

Mr. HENRY MATTHEWS said, under Bill, the Irish Government could make completely different code of criminal law.—(P.D., vol. xii., p. 947; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 108.)

Mr. STOREY announced he would vote for Amendment, because he had promised his constituents to vote for a Bill *with matters delegated specifically set out*.—(P.D., vol. xii., p. 963; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 110.)

After three hours’ discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	228
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	275
				Majority	47

(Division List No. 83.)

Mr. BARTLEY then moved to omit the words :—

“subject to the restrictions”

on the ground that the safeguards were a sham.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 965 ; T.D., XXIV., p. 111.)

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, supported the restrictions by reference to the U.S. Constitution.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 969 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 111.)

The Amendment was by leave withdrawn.

Captain BETHELL moved Amendment to substitute the word *“delegated”* for *“granted.”*

A three-cornered Debate took place between Mr. Goschen, the Solicitor-General and Mr. Morley on the point.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 981-6 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 113-4.)

After half an hour's discussion and the closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	..	186
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	251
Majority					65

(Division List No. 85.)

Mr. A. CROSS moved an Amendment giving the Irish Legislature power to make laws for :—

“the making, maintaining, and improving of railways, tramways, canals, waterworks, reservoirs, gas and lighting works, fisheries, and all other things which are the subject matter of Bills known in either Houses of Parliament as Local Bills, and also for the confirmation of provisional orders.”

He contended it was one of the chief conditions of the Government position, that nothing should be given to Ireland that could not be given to Scotland—quoted Prime Minister on the point. (P.D., vol. XII., p. 991; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 114.)

Mr. GLADSTONE characterized the Amendment as “ludicrous.”—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 994; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 115.)

After an hour and a half's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	257
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	296
				Majority	45

(Division List No. 86.)

Mr. BRODRICK moved to add at end of Clause:—

“But it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, upon the address of both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, to diminish or restrain the whole, or any part of the powers therein granted to the Irish Legislature.”

Mr. GLADSTONE opposed the Amendment, and, in a subsequent conversation with Mr. Balfour, said, the Bill did not create Executive powers although it created an Executive in appointing the Council of the Viceroy!—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1063; T.D., vol. XXIV. p. 123.)

Sir EDWARD REED speaking later said, the Bill was being discussed under the “dangerous conditions” outlined by the Prime Minister in 1885.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1071; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 126.)

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Mr. Blake, Mr. Ross and Mr. Arnold Forster spoke

After two hours' discussion and the closure resolution,

The Committee divided—				
For the Amendment	...	...	...	247
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	303
Majority				56

(Division List No. 88.)

Sir HENRY JAMES moved to add at end of Clause:—

“Provided that in the making of such laws, and in all matters pertaining to the carrying out of the powers conferred by this Act, both Houses shall, except as in this Act provided, have equal rights, powers, and privileges.”

Mr. GLADSTONE said, Government might be disposed to accept first portion as to making of Laws, and suggested Amendment being held over till Clause XXXII. was reached.—(P.D. vol. XII., p. 1086; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 128.)

Subsequently, in reply to Mr. Courtney, Mr. Gladstone said it was the intention to provide by Imperial enactment that there should be perfect and *bona fide* equality between the two chambers.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1087; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 129.)

The Amendment was withdrawn.

Sir HENRY JAMES moved to add at end of Clause:—

“Provided that notwithstanding anything in this Act contained the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland should remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things within the Queen's dominions.”

Mr. GLADSTONE, in accepting the spirit of the Amendment, suggested it should come later, in form of a new Clause.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1094; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 131.)

In the debate which followed, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Morley, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Collings, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. W. Russell, Sir Edward Clarke and others took part.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL quoted Mr. Redmond in *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1892, and asked if the assertion in the Bill regarding Imperial Supremacy was part of the "Parliamentary compact" referred to in the words:—

"A Parliamentary compact would be entered into binding the Imperial Parliament to leave these rights dormant."—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1106; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 134.)

Mr. REDMOND: "No compact has been entered into with me."—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1107; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 134.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN quoted Mr. Redmond in August, 1892, in speech on Address in same spirit.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1120, 2—4; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 136, 7.)

After three and a half hours' discussion,

Mr. GLADSTONE said:—"I am not in a position to resist the insertion of the words."—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1127; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 138.)

The Amendment was therefore agreed to.

Mr. GRANT LAWSON proposed to add at end:—

"Provided that no such laws be repugnant to the law of Great Britain and Ireland."

After half an hour's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	215
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	265
Majority	...	...	...	50

(Division List No. 89.)

On the motion, "That Clause II. as amended stand part of the Bill,"

Mr. BARTLEY opposed, and quoted Mr. Dillon, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. Healy as to their intentions when they obtained power.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1164,5; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 142.)

Sir ASHMEAD BARTLETT, speaking later, drew from Mr. Gladstone the extraordinary statement that the concession regarding Imperial Supremacy was made on Second Reading!—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1179; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 144.)

Mr. FOWLER dealt with points regarding veto and supremacy. (P.D., vol. XII., p. 1190; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 145.)

Mr. GRAHAM MURRAY argued there was nothing in the Bill to prevent *octroi* duties.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1195; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 147.)

After two hours' discussion and the closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Clause	...	...	...	...	287
Against the Clause	...	...	...	...	225
Majority	...	...	...	...	62

(Division List No. 93.)

Mr. GOSCHEN then moved to report progress, and a discussion took place, in which grave complaints were made that Unionists were not given fair opportunity of reply.—(P.D., vol. XII, p. 1201 T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 140.)

Clause II.

[As Amended in Committee. The italics show the words added.]

With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned, there shall be granted to the Irish Legislature power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland or some part thereof. *Provided that, notwithstanding anything in this Act contained, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within the Queen's dominions.*

Clause III.

Page 1.

3. The Irish Legislature shall not have power to make laws
20 in respect of the following matters or any of them :—

- (1.) The Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency ;
or the Lord Lieutenant as representative of the Crown ; or
- (2.) The making of peace or war or matters arising from a state
of war ; or

Page 2.

- (3.) Naval or Military forces, or the defence of the realm ; or

- (4.) Treaties and other relations with foreign States or the relations between different parts of Her Majesty's dominions or offences connected with such treaties or relations ; or
- 5 (5.) Dignities or titles of honour ; or
- (6.) Treason, treason-felony, alienage, or naturalization ; or
- (7.) Trade with any place out of Ireland ; or quarantine, or navigation (except as respects inland waters and local health or harbour regulations) ; or
- 10 (8.) Beacons, lighthouses, or sea marks (except so far as they can consistently with any general Act of Parliament be constructed or maintained by a local harbour authority) ; or
- (9.) Coinage ; legal tender ; or the standard of weights and measures ; or
- 15 (10.) Trade marks, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.

The debates on this Clause extended over eleven sittings, and occupied 57 hours. (May 30, 31. June 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13.)

Lord WOLMER moved—page 1, line 19—after “to” to insert:—

“To discuss or pass resolutions or to”

He quoted the fact that the great Irish vote in the States might use parties as a sort of battledore and shuttlecock, to obtain further concessions.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1574 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 202.)

Mr. GLADSTONE replying said:—“In my opinion no course would be more unwise for the Committee to adopt than to make a declaration of power without having means to support it. I would ask the noble lord whether it is wise, not for the sake of

the Irish Legislature, but for our own sake, to make prohibitions which we supply no means of enforcing.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1578; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 204.)

Mr. BALFOUR, in dealing with Mr. Gladstone's opposition to the Amendment, quoted the Errington mission as a proceeding without consent, and without payment, by House of Commons.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1581; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 205.)

Later, Mr. GLADSTONE replying to Mr. Balfour, said:—

“I refer the Right Hon. Gentleman to the 9th Clause, which it is our intention to propose and to do our best to induce the House to adopt.”—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1583; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 205.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said Mr. Gladstone had stated when he spoke of not allowing the Irish Parliament to take cognizance of matters other than those which are purely Irish, he only meant by Act,—that would be playing with the House, and, what was more important, it would be playing with the country.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1609; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 210.)

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL “did not disguise the difficulties of the position.” He did not deny that representatives could be sent to foreign powers, and that unauthorised utterances must necessarily bear weight.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1617; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 212.)

After five hours' discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	238
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	259
				Majority	21

(Division List No. 102.)

Lord WOLMER moved:—page 1, line 19—after “laws” to insert:—

“ Or to entertain or grant votes in supply except on the recommendation of the Crown signified by a Minister of the Imperial Parliament.”

Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Balfour, Sir Henry James, Mr. Collings and Mr. Chamberlain spoke.

After two and a half hours' discussion and the closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	188
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	240
				<hr/>
Majority	...			52

(Division List No. 103.)

A series of Amendments dealing with the question of Supremacy followed, but all were defeated.—(P.D., vol. XII., p. 1682, 90; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 222, 7.)

Mr. BARTLEY proposed—page 2, line 1—after “forces” to insert:—

“ or any police force other than a local police force required for local purposes and acting under the order of a local authority.”

In the course of the Debate, Mr. Gladstone said he did not think the Irish Legislature ought to be in a position to recreate the Irish Constabulary. The force was abnormal in many of its conditions, and not lying within the proper attributes of a Local Legislature. Eventually he undertook to bring up words to meet the requirements of the case.

The Amendment was consequently negatived.

Mr. BYRNE moved—page 2, line 1—after “or” to insert :—

“Carrying or using arms, armed associations and associations for drill or practice in the use of arms, or”

Mr. SEXTON spoke warmly against the proposal, and complained of not being called upon to speak by the Chairman when he twice rose.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 65; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 260.)

The Chairman and Mr. Gladstone apologised.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 68; T.D., vol. XIII., p. 260.)

Mr. GLADSTONE accepted Mr. Sexton's contention that it was unfair to cripple an Irish Legislature responsible for the “peace, order and good government of Ireland.” He was however willing to insert words to prevent the creation of *quasi* military associations.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 69; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 261.)

Mr. Wyndham, Colonel Saunderson, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Courtney and Mr. Balfour spoke.

After two hours' discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	245
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	283
				<hr/>
			Majority	38

(Division List No. 108.)

Mr. G. BALFOUR moved—page 2, line 5—after the word “or” to insert as a new sub-section the words :—

“(6.) Appointment of Judges or Magistrates.”

After a lengthy debate—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 260-86; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 289-95),

The Amendment was put with the words “mode of” before appointment,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	255
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	291
Majority	..			36

(Division List No. 116.)

Mr. BUTCHER moved—page 2, line 6—after the word “treason-felony” to insert the words

“criminal conspiracy and combination.”

A discussion took place, in which Mr. Gladstone charged Mr. Balfour with having “concocted” another law of conspiracy setting up new offences in connection with Act of 1887.—(P.D., vol. xiii., p. 344; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 303.)

Mr. Morley, Mr. David Plunket, Mr. Dunbar Barton, Mr. Arnold Forster and others spoke.—(P.D., vol. xiii., p. 338-54; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 300-4.)

After two hours’ discussion and the Closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	276
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	317
Majority	...			41

(Division List No. 118).

Sir HENRY JAMES moved to add “*sedition*” after “treason-felony.”

The Solicitor-General and Mr. Asquith spoke.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 354-61; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 304-5.)

After three quarters of an hour's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	255
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	304
					Majority
					49

(Division List No. 119.)

Mr. STUART WORTLEY moved Amendments on "criminal conspiracy" and "Explosives," both of which were defeated.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 361-71; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 305-307.)

Mr. BARTON, for **Mr. CARSON**, moved—page 2, line 6—after words "treason-felony" to insert the words:—

"procedure in criminal matters."

The Solicitor-General and Mr. Asquith opposed on the part of the Government. Mr. Carson, Sir Henry James, and Mr. Goschen spoke in favour of the Amendment.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 371-98; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 307-12.)

After three hours' debate,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	253
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	293
					Majority
					40

(Divisional List, No. 121.)

Mr. BRODRICK moved—page 2, line 6—after the word “alienage” to insert the words—

“the immigration and expulsion of aliens, the rights of aliens resident in Ireland.”

There was quite a heated debate, in which Mr. Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Blake, and Mr. W. Redmond protested.

After an hour and a half's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	..	...	...	328
Against the Amendment		..	...	...	139
			Majority	...	189

Eventually the words “as such” were added on Mr. Sexton's motion.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 405-37; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 313-18.)

***Mr. BARTLEY** moved—page 2, line 7—to leave out the words “with any place out of Ireland,” in order to insert the words:—

“bounties to promote Irish Industries.”

* It is to be noted that on this Amendment Mr. James Lowther (Thanet), as an avowed Protectionist, spoke and voted with the Government. Mr. Paul (Gladstonian member for Edinburgh) voted against the Government, whilst several other Gladstonian members walked out and did not vote.

Among the English members who voted for conferring on the Irish Parliament the power to give these bounties were:—Messrs. George Russell (Beds.), Halley Stewart (Spalding), Lambert (South Molton), Lawson (Cirencester), Logan (Harborough, Leicester), Luttrell (Tavistock), H. E. Hoare (Cambridgeshire), C. E. Hobhouse (Devizes, Wilts.), Seale-Hayne (Ashburton, Devon), Billson (Barnstaple), Gardner (Saffron Walden), Arch (North-West Norfolk), Brand (Wisbech, Cambs.), Channing (East Northamptonshire), Cobb (Rugby), Conybeare (Camborne), Dodd (Maldon Division, Essex), and Sir Walter Foster (Ilkestone).—MR. JESSE COLLINGS, M.P. in *Rural World*.

In the course of the debate—

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN quoted Mr. Morley in *Nineteenth Century* admitting Protectionist proclivities on part of Irish people.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 558; T.D. vol. XXIV., p. 334.)

Mr. GLADSTONE gave it as his opinion Irish Parliament would have power of dealing with premiums, and they ought to be within cognizance of Irish Parliament.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 563; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 335.)

After a short discussion and closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	252
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	288
				Majority	...
					36

(Division List No. 127.)

Mr. WHITELEY proposed—page 2, line 12,—after word “or” to insert as a new sub-section the words:—

“Factories, workshops and mines, or the regulation of the hours of labour of men, women, and children in factories, workshops, and mines.”

Sir JOHN GORST having referred to difficulty which would arise in consequence of Ireland sending representatives to labour conferences,

Mr. MUNDELLA advocated freedom in matter for Ireland.

Mr. RUSSELL challenged Irish Members to deny that the Irish people looked on Home Rule as a way to cheapen land and subsidise manufactures.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 664-5; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 346-7.)

After two hours' discussion and the closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	268
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	298
				Majority
				30

(Division List No. 130.)

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK proposed—page 2, line 13—after the words “legal tender” to insert the words:—

“banks, Bills of Exchange.”

Mr. GLADSTONE admitted that bills drawn in Ireland on England would be Imperial, and in England on Ireland—local—*i.e.* treating Ireland as a foreign country.—(P.D., vol. XIII, p. 803; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 365.)

Mr. GOSCHEN pointed out the arrangement would give different laws of exchange to each country forming a portion of the United Kingdom.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 815; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 365.)

After an hour and three quarter's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	254
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	283
				Majority
				29

(Division List No. 131.)

Sir F. S. POWELL proposed—page 2, line 16—after sub-section 10, to insert as a new sub-section:—

“(11) Marriage and Divorce.”

Mr. GLADSTONE opposed on grounds that American laws were of a very diversified character!—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 848; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 371.)

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL quoted differences of church laws in Ireland regarding marriage of first cousins, etc.— (P.D., vol. XIII., p. 856; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 371.)

After an hour and three quarter's discussion.

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	236
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	270
					Majority
					34

(Division List No. 133.)

Clause III., as amended, was then passed.

Clause III.

[As Amended in Committee. *The italics show the words added. The words in black type bracketed were deleted.*]

The Irish Legislature shall not have power to make laws in respect of the following matters or any of them:—

- (1.) The Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency; or the Lord Lieutenant as representative of the Crown; or
- (2.) The making of peace or war or matters arising from a state of war; *the regulation of the conduct of any portion of Her Majesty's subjects during the existence of hostilities between foreign states with which Her Majesty is at peace, in respect of such hostilities; or*
- (3.) [**Naval or military forces, or the defence of the realm, or** *Navy, army, militia, volunteers, and any other military forces, or the defence of the realm or forts, permanent military camps, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings, or any places purchased for the erection thereof; or*

- (4.) Treaties and other relations with foreign States, or the relations between different parts of Her Majesty's dominions, or offences connected with such treaties or relations, or *procedure connected with the extradition of criminals under any treaty*; or
- (5.) Dignities or titles of honour; or
- (6.) Treason, treason-felony, alienage, *aliens as such*, or naturalization; or
- (7.) Trade with any place out of Ireland; or quarantine, or navigation, *including merchant shipping* (except as respects inland waters and local health or harbour regulations); or
- (8.) *Lighthouses, buoys, or beacons within the meaning of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854* [**beacons, lighthouses, or sea marks**] (except so far as they can consistently with any general Act of Parliament be constructed or maintained by a local harbour authority); or
- (9.) Coinage; legal tender; or *any change in the standard of weights and measures*; or
- (10.) Trade marks, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights.

Provided always, that nothing in this section shall prevent the passing of any Irish Act to provide for any charges imposed by Act of Parliament.

It is hereby declared that the exceptions from the powers of the Irish Legislature contained in this section are set forth and enumerated for greater certainty, and not so as to restrict the generality of the limitation imposed in the previous section on the powers of the Irish Legislature.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.

Clause IV.

4. The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any law—

- 20 (1.) Respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or
- (2.) Imposing any disability, or conferring any privilege, on account of religious belief; or
- 25 (3.) Abrogating or prejudicially affecting the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity; or
- (4.) Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money, without attending the religious instruction at that school; or
- 30 (5.) Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation; or
- 35 (6.) Whereby any existing corporation incorporated by Royal Charter or by any local or general Act of Parliament (not being a corporation raising for public purposes taxes, rates cess, dues, or tolls, or administering funds so raised) may, unless it consents, or the leave of Her Majesty is first obtained on address from the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, be
- 40 deprived of its rights, privileges, or property without due process of law; or
- (7.) Whereby any inhabitant of the United Kingdom may be deprived of equal rights as respects public sea fisheries.
- Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.
- 30]

The debate on this Clause extended over nine sittings, and lasted 52½ hours. (June 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23).

Mr. GRIFFITH BOSCAWEN proposed—page 2, line 23—after the word “belief” to insert:—

“or political opinions.”

A discussion took place regarding the attack made upon the Bank of Ireland by the “*Freeman's Journal*.”

Mr. WILLIAM KENNY contended the attack was because of the Unionist character of the Directors.—(P.D., VOL. XIII., p. 955 ; T.D. XXIV., p. 387.)

Mr. CLANCY had contended previously that the attack was to get publication of balance sheets, but now Mr. HARRINGTON gave an entirely different version, and said in addition to a desire to arrange for the obtaining of the site for a College Green Parliament (the Bank was the old Irish House of Commons), the owner of the *Freeman* was interested in a rival Bank and was glad of an opportunity of attack.—(P.D., vol. XII, p. 958 ; T.D. vol. XXIV., p. 388.) (NOTE.—In *Times* Mr. Harrington's remarks are attributed to Mr. T. P. O'Connor.)

Mr. KENNY also quoted procedure adopted by *Freeman's Journal* with regard to “black list” of those merchants who attended the Balfour Banquet in Dublin ; and the language of the *Irish Independent* of 31st March, 1893, with regard to the enemies of Ireland.—(P.D., vol. XIII. p. 955-6 ; T. D., vol. XXIV., p. 388.)

Mr. BALFOUR quoted Mr. W. O'Brien in *Speaker* on clearing out the Castle.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 960 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 388.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN quoted Mr. Dillon on “ruffianly magistrates and Policemen.”—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 970 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 390.)

After about an hour and half's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment ...	...	...	...	233
Against the Amendment ...	...	...	...	269
Majority ...				36

(Division List No. 138.)

Mr. VICARY GIBBS proposed—page 2, after line 26—to insert:—

“Imposing any new desirability or conferring any new privilege on any Institution belonging to or conducted by any religious denomination or”

In the discussion Mr. SEXTON asked if it was seriously proposed to withdraw from the Irish Legislature the task of completing the provision for University Education in Ireland, without regard to the question whether it should be carried out or not in the interests of a particular section of the community.

Mr. ARTHUR BALFOUR said his reply was quite direct and simple. He should not leave to the Irish Legislature the power of taxing Protestants and Catholics alike for the purpose of establishing a denominational place of education.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1,009; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 398.)

The Amendment being of too wide a character was withdrawn.

Mr. MOWBRAY moved—page 2, line 30—after “whereby,” to insert:—

“the privileges or immunities of any of Her Majesty’s subjects in the United Kingdom may be abridged or whereby”

It was pointed out that these words were left out while the context of them was taken from the American Constitution—

In reply to Lord Wolmer,

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said:—“There were cases in which the Irish Government would have, and cases where they would not have the power of suspending the Habeas Corpus.”—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1101; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 412.)

In reply to Mr. Chamberlain,

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said:—"Sub-section five did not in all cases preserve the right to trial by jury."—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1106; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 413.)

After two hours' discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	208
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	249
Majority				41

(Division List No. 144.)

Mr. SETON-KARR then moved—page 2, line 31—to leave out:—

"without due process of law."

In the discussion—

The Attorney-General explained the Irish Government could pass an Act making it a crime to take part in a party procession and impose fine or imprisonment. It could not pass an Act making every occupier of Irish land an owner in fee simple; it could make sheep stealing a capital offence. The Habeas Corpus could be suspended where there was an emergency or circumstances requiring such action.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1115; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 415.)

The Amendment was then withdrawn.

A discussion took place regarding the proper interpretation of the words, "due process of law," in which Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Bolton, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Barton, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Sir Henry James, the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Clarke, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bryce and others took part.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1130-54; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 416, 23.)

As the result of the foregoing discussion Mr. Gerald Balfour brought in an Amendment,—page 2, line 31,—after “law” to insert:—

“in accordance with the settled principles and precedents of judicial procedure unalterable save by the Parliament of the United Kingdom.”

He quoted the opinions given by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, as to their view of the words being expressed by the terms of amendment.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1199; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 426.)

Eventually the Amendment was worded in the following form:—

“in accordance with settled principles and precedents.”

Mr. SEXTON sought to have “regard being had to” substituted for “in accordance with.” He gave expression to the significant remark that language used in debate is one thing, and that language to be inserted in a Clause in the form of a definition was another.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1207; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 427.)

After an hour's debate

The Committee divided—

For Mr. Sexton's Amendment	...	...	144
Against Mr. Sexton's Amendment	...	...	324
			<hr/>
Majority			180

The Unionist Party thus saved the Government from defeat at the hands of the Irish members.—(Division List No. 146.)

Mr. CLANCY and Mr. SEXTON then made a bitter attack on the Government.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1213-16; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 428-9.)

The Committee again divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	..	310
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	165
				145
Majority	...	...	...	145

The Unionist Party and the Government again voted together, the Irish Party being joined by a certain portion of the Radical section.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1218; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 429; Division List No. 147.)

Mr. H. PLUNKETT moved—page 2, line 1.—after the word “law” to insert:—

“or any person not otherwise provided for in this Act be deprived of any office or situation which such person may have occupied on the appointed day.”

Mr. Morley, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Balfour, Mr. W. Redmond and Mr. T. W. Russell having spoken,

Mr. CLANCY said—“This was a point on which the Irish Members would admit of no concession.”—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1238; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 432.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN drew attention to the significance of the phrase as shewing the Irish mastery of the Government.

After an hour's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	211
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	253
				44
Majority	...	...	...	44

(Division List No. 149.)

Mr. T. H. BOLTON moved—page 2, line 33—after “taken,” to insert :—

“or injuriously affected,”

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said “the section did not exhaust every possible case that could occur.”

Mr. BALFOUR commented on the fact that heretofore the debate had been conducted on an assumption which was the exact opposite, *i.e.*, that the Clauses III. and IV. gave a concise, full and accurate description of all an Irish Parliament could not do. *They had been misled up to now, 19th June.* Now the Attorney-General refused to accept an amendment with which he agreed.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1361 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 440.)

After an hour's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	250
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	284
			Majority	34

(Division List No. 151.)

Mr. RENTOUL moved — page 2, line 33—at end to insert :—

“Suspending or prejudicially affecting the right of any person to the writ of habeas corpus.”

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL in opposing “could not rise to the level of the hon. gentleman's fears” with regard to the possible action respecting Ulster. Why should not the Irish Parliament have the power of doing what the Imperial Parliament had frequently done? This Bill was to relieve Parliament of Irish legislation.—(P.D. vol. XIII., p. 1391 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 452.)

Sir Henry James, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Randolph Churchill took part in the debate, in the course of which it was

pointed out that the constitution of the United States prevents a State from suspending *habeas corpus* unless for rebellion or invasion. The powers which the United States Government *did not give* to the several States Legislatures *were proposed to be given to Ireland*; and it was argued that such tremendous powers should not be given to any subordinate Parliament of the Crown, but should remain in the hands of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

It was further pointed out that the Government candidates had pledged themselves at the election to protect the minorities in Ireland, whereas now the Irish Government was to be allowed to mark down any opponents and imprison them without trial.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1392—1409; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 453—457.)

After two and a half hours' discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	241
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	270
				Majority ... 29

(Division List No. 154.)

Lord WOLMER proposed—page 2, line 33, at end to insert:—

“(6) *of an ex post facto character.*”

He pointed out such provision existed in the American Constitution.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL *denied the likelihood of the Irish Legislature doing anything wrong.*—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1505; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 466.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN quoted Mr. Dillon on “when they came out of the struggle.”—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1510; T.D., XXIV., p. 467.)

Mr. Haldane, Mr. W. Balfour, Mr. Gladstone and Sir Henry James spoke.

After an hour and a half's discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	240
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	270
Majority					30

(Division List No. 156.)

Lord WOLMER moved—page 2, line 33—at end to insert:—

“impairing the obligation of contracts or.”

He quoted American Constitution to show how these words were taken from it, and also Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Davitt on “prairie value.”—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1525; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 470.)

Mr. RATHBONE moved as an **Amendment to the Amendment** to add:—

“Except with the consent of Parliament testified by an address to Her Majesty from both Houses of Parliament.”

He said “till the country had settled down and come to understand what was possible by legislation, he believed it would be impossible even by as powerful a man as Mr. Parnell himself was, to pass legislation without making promises, which could not be carried out; and on this ground he thought a provision such as the modified one he ventured to recommend to the House would be invaluable.”

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL in reply stated the view of the Government. If at the end of the three years referred to in Clause XXXV. the land question remained unsettled, the Imperial Parliament would be under the obligation of fixing the terms and conditions under which it would delegate the power to deal with it to the Irish body.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1531; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 471.)

In reply to Mr. Balfour,

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said if Clause XXXV. was inapt for the purpose indicated, it might be necessary to make some alteration.—(*Ibid.*)

Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Carson and Mr. Morley having spoken,

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN quoted Lord Spencer on the Land Question.—(P.D. vol. XIII., p. 1547; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 474).

The debate was continued amidst much interruption from the Irish Benches.

After three and a half hours' discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment (as amended)	...	...	223
Against the Amendment (as amended)	...	...	260
		Majority	37

(Division List No. 157.)

Mr. PARKER SMITH moved—line 2, page 33—after the word “or” to insert the words:—

“(6) *Whereby any censorship of the Press shall be established or a public meeting for legal purpose shall be interfered with.*”

Mr. SEXTON made a violent speech against the Amendment, and charged the Opposition with obstruction, “reducing the House of Commons to a state of impotence,” whereupon

Mr. BUCKNILL quoted Mr. Sexton on Second Reading, where *he undertook the acceptance of all restrictions* calculated to allay apprehension even where unfounded.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1576; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 480.)

The Amendment was put and negatived without a Division.

Mr. DAVID PLUNKET moved—line 2, page 33—after the word “or” to insert as a new sub-section the words:—

“(6) affecting the constitution, endowment, prosperity, or privileges of Trinity College, Dublin, or of the Universities of Dublin or.”

He instanced the case that 20 years ago one of the strongest Governments that ever existed in England was defeated in the attempt to reconcile within the University of Dublin, the demand made by the Irish Roman Catholic prelates. The system of education had been denounced by them as a danger to the faith and morals of the people. He also quoted Dr. Walsh on the subject in 1886.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1580-90; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 481, 3.)

Mr. GLADSTONE contended the safeguards were sufficient. To establish a precedent like this in regard to one institution would be most undesirable and unfair.

Mr. SEXTON contended that neither Archbishop, prelate nor any other Bishop considered the disturbance of Trinity College too essential to settlement of University Question.

Mr. CARSON quoted Archbishop Logue in 1873—that Queen’s College and University of Dublin were “Godless institutions,” and dangerous to the faith of Catholic students.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1596; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 485.)

Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Ross, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Goschen, Mr. T. W. Russell, Sir A. Rollitt also spoke, in addition to

Mr. W. KENNY, who pointed out that in the Bill of 1886, the Government did what they now objected to do by Amendment—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1610; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 486)—and **Mr. Harrington**, who quoted several statements by Archbishop Walsh.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1614; T.D. vol. XXIV., p. 487.)

On the understanding that **Mr. Balfour’s** question as to whether or not the Irish Legislature could establish a Roman Catholic

University under the Clause, would be dealt with and answered when the whole Clause was before the House.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1622; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 488.)

After three and a half hours' discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	242
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	284
					Majority 42

(Division List No. 160.)

NOTE.—See Mr. Plunket's Amendment later.

A discussion took place regarding the wording of sub-section 4, which

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL admitted needed some alteration, and which he undertook to bring up altered on report.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1689-96; T.D., vol. XXV., p. 497.)

Mr. D. PLUNKET moved—page 2, line 39—after the word “*Legislature*” to insert:—

“And after a copy of the proposed law has lain for not less than forty days on the table of both Houses of Parliament”—

He asked for acceptance of this Amendment because of Prime Minister's statement respecting Trinity College.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL thought the Prime Minister must have been misunderstood.

Mr. PLUNKET quoted the Prime Minister, shewing they were to have a three-fold protection against unfair treatment—

- (1.) The consent of the Corporation was to be obtained.
- (2.) The consent of the Irish Legislature.
- (3.) The *locus standi* of the Imperial Parliament to interfere—hence the words of the Amendment.

(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1699-1702 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 498, 9.)

The discussion turned on the question as to whether the action of the Government now, in Mr. Gladstone's absence, refusing to support his undertaking did not suggest the view that the vote of the previous day had been **obtained** under false pretences.

Sir Henry James, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Carson, Mr. A. Balfour, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Sexton and Mr. Courtney spoke.

After an hour's discussion,

The Committee divided—				
For the Amendment ...	...	...	...	261
Against the Amendment ...	...	...	...	307
Majority ...				46

(Division List No. 163.)

Mr. COCHRANE proposed—page 2, line 41—to insert :—

“whereby any undue preference, benefit or advantage is given to or conferred directly or indirectly upon any person or body of persons, class, body corporate, or institution, or”

He quoted Mr. Bryce on Religious persecution, and Mr. Gladstone's admission on the possibility of giving indirect preference to one denomination over another.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1718 ; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 500.)

Mr. MORLEY suggested adding some such words "or by imposing any liability or conferring any privilege, benefit or advantage on any subject of the Crown, on account of present age or place of birth or upon any Corporation or Institution carrying on its operations in the land on account of the person by whom or in whose favour such operations are carried."—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1722; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 500.)

Mr. CLANCY strongly objected, and said this addition went further than the Nationalists had ever been prepared to concede. They should oppose it when the time came.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1729; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 502.)

Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Henry James, Mr. A. Balfour, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Heneage and Mr. MacFarlane also spoke.

Leave to withdraw the original Amendment was withheld, and after an hour and half's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	218
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	260
					42
Majority					42

(Division List No. 164.)

Mr. COCHRANE, on behalf of Lord Randolph Churchill, moved:—page 2, line 4—after sub-section (6) to insert:—

"whereby any voluntary institution, association or society lawfully constituted according to the laws of the United Kingdom in force for the time being is prejudicially affected"

The Amendment it was explained was designed for the protection of the Freemasons. They numbered some 9,000 or 10,000, and possessed valuable property in the way of schools. Mr. Cochrane quoted Archbishop Walsh: *The Catholic* of

3rd June, 1893: and read a letter from "Lawrence Burke," of the Abbey, Roscommon, 6th June, 1893, in which the rites of burial were refused in consequence of Freemasonry.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1738-41; T.D., vol. X., xxiv., p. 503-4.)

Mr. GLADSTONE objected on grounds that Amendment would prevent Irish Government dealing with case like the Balfour Liberator Society, and because the Government conscientiously and emphatically refused "to cast suspicion of such a gross offence in the teeth of the Irish Members."—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1742-3; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 504.)

After three-quarters of an hour's debate and the Closure Resolution.

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment ...	...	...	...	243
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	278
Majority				35

(Division List No. 166.)

Mr. PARKER SMITH moved—page 2, line 41—to insert as a new section:—

"(7) *Whereby the actions of any official of the Government shall be removed from the cognizance of the ordinary law or*"

He pointed out that the design was to prevent the Irish Government from adopting the system of "*droit administratif*" by which Continental officials were rendered secure from actions.

Mr. MORLEY refused because "it would not be likely" that the Irish Government *would* resort to the practice.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1790; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 511.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN pointed out that Mr. Morley could not possibly speak for any future body of Irish Legislators.

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	230
Against the Amendment	272
Majority	42

(Division List No. 168.)

On the Question “that Clause IV., as amended, stand part of the Bill,”

Mr. BALFOUR asked for the promised information on the Education Question.

Mr. GLADSTONE said—“(1) the Government accepted training colleges as within the provisions of the Clause, and (2) what amounted to endowment or was open to the charge of preference could not be done by the Irish Legislature; but he was not prepared to say that all collegiate education of a denominational character, if it were accompanied by certain conditions, was excluded by the Bill. *The foundation of a Roman Catholic College was therefore possible.*”—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1602-3; T.D., vol. XXIV., p. 513-14.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN called attention to the fact that it was only now at the end of twenty days in Committee they became acquainted with the fact that the Irish Government would be empowered to subsidise a Roman Catholic College at the expense of the Irish Protestants. The safeguards would be considered worthless.

Mr. R. WALLACE again spoke on the retention of members.—(P.D., vol. XIII., p. 1811-18; T.D., XXIV., p. 515-17.)

Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Morley, Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Goschen spoke, and subsequently

The CLAUSE, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause IV.

[As Amended in Committee. The italics show the words added. The words in black type bracketed were deleted.]

The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any law :—

- (1.) Respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, *whether directly or indirectly*, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or
- (2.) Imposing any disability, or conferring any privilege, *advantage, or benefit*, on account of religious belief; or
- (3.) *Diverting the property of any religious body*, abrogating or prejudicially affecting the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity; or
- (4.) Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money, without attending the religious instruction at that school; or
- (5.) Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law *in accordance with settled principles and precedents*, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation; or
- (6.) Whereby any existing corporation incorporated by Royal Charter or by any local or general Act of Parliament (not being a corporation raising for public purposes taxes, rates, cess, dues, or tolls, or administering funds so raised) may, unless it consents, or the leave of Her Majesty is first obtained on address from the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, be deprived of its rights, privileges, or property without due process of law *in accordance with settled principles and precedents*; or
- (7.) [**Whereby any inhabitant of the United Kingdom may be deprived of equal rights as respects public sea fisheries.**]

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.

Clauses V.—VIII.

FIRST COMPARTMENT.

Executive Authority.

5 5.—(1.) The executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in Her Majesty the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant, on behalf of Her Majesty, shall exercise any prerogatives or other executive power of the Queen, the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty, and shall, in Her Majesty's name, summon, prorogue,
10 and dissolve the Irish Legislature.

(2.) There shall be an Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland to aid and advise in the Government of Ireland, being of such numbers, and comprising persons holding such offices, as Her Majesty may think fit, or as may be directed by Irish Act.

15 (3.) The Lord Lieutenant shall, on the advice of the said Executive Committee, give or withhold the assent of Her Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, subject, nevertheless, to any instructions given by Her Majesty in respect of any such Bill.

The debate on this Clause [V.] extended over five days and had occupied 31 hours, when the "Gag" was employed. (June 28. July 3, 4, 5, 6.)

Mr. HAYES FISHER moved—page 3, line 6—after "Lieutenant" to insert:—

"or other chief executive officer or officers for the time being appointed in his place."

After a short debate in which the Government refused the Amendment, the question was put a second time, and the Government suddenly changed front and accepted the addition.

Mr. HANBURY moved—page 3, line 6—after the words “Lord Lieutenant” to leave out the words “on behalf of Her Majesty,” and insert:—

“with the approval of Her Majesty, signified by a Secretary of State.”

Mr. BRYCE admitted that the proposed Irish Legislature would differ from Grattan’s Parliament, as in the latter the Executive was not responsible to the Irish Parliament.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 255 ; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 5557.)

Mr. BALFOUR commented on the length of the Rt. Hon. Gentleman’s speech in view of the threatened “Gag.”

After three hours’ discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	231
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	260
Majority					29

(P.D., vol. xxiv., p. ; Division List No. 172.)

It was at this point that the “Gag” Resolutions were discussed and adopted as follows:—

“That the proceedings in Committee on the Government of Ireland Bill, unless previously disposed of, shall at the times hereinafter mentioned be brought to a conclusion in the manner hereinafter mentioned:—

- (a.) “The proceedings on the Clauses V. to VIII., both inclusive, not later than 10 p.m. on Thursday, 6th July;
- (b.) “The proceedings on Clauses IX. to XXVI., both inclusive, not later than 10 p.m. on Thursday, 13th July;

- (c.) The proceedings on Clauses XXVII. to XL., both inclusive, not later than 10 p.m. on Thursday, 20th July;
- (d.) The proceedings on the postponed clauses, new clauses, being Government clauses, schedules, and preamble not later than 10 p.m. on Thursday, 27th July; and after the clauses, schedules, and preamble are disposed of, the Chairman shall forthwith report the Bill, as amended, to the House.

Then at the said appointed times the Chairman shall put forthwith the question or questions on any amendment or motion already proposed from the Chair.

He shall next proceed, unless and until progress be moved as hereinafter provided, successively to put forthwith the following questions:—

That any clause or schedule then under consideration, and any of the said clauses or schedules not already disposed of, stand part of, or be added to, the Bill.

After the passing of this order no dilatory motion, nor motion to postpone a clause, shall be received unless moved by a Minister in charge of the Bill, and the question on any such motion shall be put forthwith; if progress be reported the Chairman shall put this order in force in any subsequent sitting of the Committee; proceedings under this order shall not be interrupted under the provisions of any standing order relating to the sittings of the House."

Lord WOLMER moved—page 3, line 10—after Sub-section I, to insert:—

(1.) "*For the due enforcement of any decision of the Civil Council or of any Act of Parliament, the Lord-Lieutenant acting under instructions from Her Majesty may*

appoint in each County of Ireland so many officers as he may deem necessary for the purpose, who shall be entitled in Ireland to all privileges, immunities, and powers which a sheriff possesses by law."

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Chamberlain repeated a quotation he had previously made from a speech of Mr. Dillon of a criminatory character. Mr. Dillon, in reply, stated that he made the quotation while in a state of indignation with reference to the affray at Mitchelstown. Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the Mitchelstown incident did not occur until nearly a year afterwards.

Mr. HARRINGTON followed with reference to the Chamberlain-Duignan correspondence.

After two hours' discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	..	...	...	196
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	230
					—
Majority					34

(Division List No. 186.)

Mr. BRODRICK proposed—page 3, line 10, after subsection (1)—to insert:—

"The Lord-Lieutenant shall not exercise any of the prerogatives or powers the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty in furtherance of or in connection with any of the matters with regard to which the Irish Legislature has not power to make laws, save so far as may be necessary to carry out any existing law or future Act of Parliament, including this Act."

Mr. MORLEY in reply to various questions explained when the Lord-Lieutenant wanted advice on different matters he would consult the heads of the different English departments, as for instance in a case of treason the referee would be the Home

Secretary or English Attorney-General.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 755 ; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 621.)

Mr. GOSCHEN described this as not a revelation of a plan but a revelation of chaos. Who was to give instructions to the Lord-Lieutenant.?

Mr. MORLEY. The Home Office, no doubt.

Mr. GOSCHEN said the Lord-Lieutenant was to have three capacities, Imperial, Irish and hybrid, with the constabulary under his management advised by the Irish Government. (Mr. Morley had just stated the Constabulary would not be regarded as Imperial.)

Mr. MORLEY explained the Home Secretary would draw up instructions, but details of operations would be left to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Mr. GOSCHEN said this would be on all fours with the present arrangement, save, that the Chief Secretary who would be replaced by the Lord-Lieutenant in this regard, was open to criticism on the votes, but the Lord-Lieutenant would not be.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 757-8 ; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 621.)

Replying to Mr. Courtenay,

Mr. MORLEY said, what he meant was that the Home Secretary could be called to account for the action of the Lord-Lieutenant.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 762 ; T.D. vol. xxiv., p. 622.)

Mr. BALFOUR pointed out Mr. Morley and Mr. Bryce were at variance in regard to the matter.

Questioned regarding what would happen in the event of a resignation of the Irish Ministry.

Mr. MORLEY said the Lord-Lieutenant would act on his own not on the Imperial Cabinet's responsibility in summoning a new Cabinet.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 767 ; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 624.)

After about four hours' discussion,

The Committee divided—				
For the Amendment	..	...	...	247
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	274
Majority				27

(Division List No. 1876.)

A heated discussion took place on an Amendment by Mr. Arnold Forster dealing with the prerogative of mercy.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 826-52; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 631-75.)

The MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN moved to leave out the words:—

“or as may be directed by this Act.”

Mr. D. PLUNKET drew attention to the change from the Bill of '86, which read “by the aid of such advisers and such Council as Her Majesty may from time to time seem fit.”—(P.D., vol. xiv., 878; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 641.)

Mr. AMBROSE said to pass the sub-section as it stood would be *suicidal to the supremacy of Great Britain*.—(P.D., xiv., p. 907; T.D., xxiv., p. 642.)

The Amendment was eventually withdrawn.

An interesting discussion, regarding the worth of the Veto, took place on an Amendment, by Lord Wolmer, to leave out the words “on the advice of the said ‘Executive Committee.’”—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 978-1006; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 652-6.)

After the rejection of several Amendments

The “Gag” was applied at ten o'clock.

The Committee divided—				
For the Clause	...	...	...	324
Against the Clause	...	...	...	289
Majority				35

* Clauses VI., VII., and VIII., were then passed without discussion.

(See *Division Lists*, Nos. 199, 200.)

Clause V.

[As Amended in Committee. The italics show the words added.]

(1.) The executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in Her Majesty the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant, *or other chief executive officer or officers for the time being appointed in his place*, on behalf of Her Majesty, shall exercise any prerogatives or other executive power of the Queen the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty, and shall, in Her Majesty's name, summon, prorogue, and dissolve the Irish Legislature; *and every instrument conveying any such delegation of any prerogative or other executive power shall be presented to the two Houses of Parliament as soon as conveniently may be.*

(2.) There shall be an Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland to aid and advise in the Government of Ireland being of such numbers, and comprising persons holding such offices *under the Crown* as Her Majesty may think fit, or as may be directed by Irish Act.

(3.) The Lord Lieutenant shall, on the advice of the said Executive Committee, give or withhold the assent of Her Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, subject nevertheless to any instructions given by Her Majesty in respect of any such Bill.

* In the division on Clause 6 ten Gladstonians voted with the Opposition—Sir C. Dilke, Dr. Clark, Dr. Wallace, Messrs. W. Allen, Atherley-Jones, Burns, Conybeare, Kearley, Labouchere, and Storey. The Government majority would have been still further reduced but for the fact that Mr. Beckett was unable to reach the House in time to take part in the division, being delayed through the congestion of traffic in the streets. Mr. Benn was the Gladstonian member who paired with Mr. Villiers after the adoption of Clause 6, but through a misunderstanding he voted with the Government, in the division on Clause 7. His mistake having been pointed out to him, he did his best to make the *amende honorable* by voting with the Opposition on Clause 8. — *Times*, Political Notes, 7th July.

Clauses VI., VII., and VIII., not altered in Committee.

(July 6.)

Clauses IX.—XXVI.

SECOND COMPARTMENT.

Irish Representation in House of Commons.

25 9. Unless and until Parliament otherwise determines, the following provisions shall have effect—

30 (1.) After *the appointed day* each of the constituencies named in the Second Schedule to this Act shall return to serve in Parliament the number of members named opposite thereto in that schedule, and no more, and Dublin University shall cease to return any member.

(2.) The existing divisions of the constituencies shall, save as provided in that schedule, be abolished.

35 (3.) An Irish representative peer in the House of Lords and a member of the House of Commons for an Irish constituency shall not be entitled to deliberate or vote on—

(a) any Bill or motion in relation thereto, the operation of which Bill or motion is confined to Great Britain or some part thereof; or

(b) any motion or resolution relating solely to some tax not raised or to be raised in Ireland; or

5 (c) any vote or appropriation of money made exclusively for some service not mentioned in the Third Schedule to this Act ; or

(d) any motion or resolution exclusively affecting Great Britain or some part thereof or some local authority or some person or thing therein ; or

10 (e) any motion or resolution, incidental to any such motion or resolution as either is last mentioned, or relates solely to some tax not raised or be raised in Ireland, or incidental to any such vote or appropriation of money as aforesaid.

15 (4.) Compliance with the provisions of this section shall not be questioned otherwise than in each House in manner provided by the House.

20 (5.) The election laws and the laws relating to the qualification of parliamentary electors shall not, so far as they relate to parliamentary elections, be altered by the Irish Legislature, but this enactment shall not prevent the Irish Legislature from dealing with any officers concerned with the issue of writs of election, and if any officers are so dealt with, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to arrange for the issue of such writs, and the writs issued in pursuance of such Order shall be of the same effect as if issued in manner heretofore
25 accustomed.

The Debate on this Clause extended over five sittings and occupied 261½ hours, when the "Gag" was applied. (July 7, 10, 11, 12, 13.)

***Mr. JOHN REDMOND** moved to leave out Sub-section 1. He quoted Mr. Parnell in 1886 in denial of the assertion that this

* In the division on Mr. John Redmond's Amendment seven Parnellites—Messrs. J. Redmond, W. Redmond, Clancy, Field, Maguire, Hayden, and Colonel Nolan—voted against the Government; as did Mr. Labouchere. Sir Charles Dilke took no part in the division.—*Times* Political Notes, July 11th.

question of retention was a purely English matter, and explained that his (Mr. Redmond's) amendment was a protest against the reduction to eighty.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1168; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 682.)

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said he did not agree that the Irish Parliament was going to be deprived of all essential powers during that period (six years). The land question was not reserved for six years, and the honourable gentleman surely did not suppose that that question could be dealt with during the first three years by an Irish Parliament.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1172; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 682.)

A long discussion took place as to what a vote on the Amendment would pledge the Committee to.

Eventually the Committee divided—				
For the Amendment	...	...	...	266
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	280
Majority				14

(Division List No. 204.)

***Mr. HENEAGE** moved—page 4, line 27—to leave out from “day” to end of Sub-section II. :—

“Ireland shall cease to return members to the House of Commons, and the persons who on the said day are such members shall cease to be members of the House of Commons.”

He quoted Mr. Gladstone in 1886.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1196; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 687.)

* There was no cross-voting in the division on Mr. Heneage's Amendment, and the smallness of the Government majority was, therefore, due entirely to Gladstonian absenteeism. In the closure division Mr. J. A. Bright, finding himself compelled to take part in the voting, although paired, went into the Government lobby. Most of the Gladstonian members who were expected to support the Amendment abstained.—*Times*, Political Notes, 11th July.

Mr. CHAPLIN quoted Mr. Morley, 7th January, 1885, on "order in Ireland and power in the House of Commons."—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1199; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 688.)

Mr. WINGFIELD DIGBY quoted Mr. Fowler in 1891; Sir Charles Russell's definition of Home Rule; and Mr. Shaw Lefevre on the necessity of carrying Home Rule by a large majority.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1206; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 689.)

Sir William Harcourt, Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Carson, and Mr. Wyndham spoke.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN quoted Mr. Gladstone at Swansea, in 1887, on retention being a British question on which Great Britain should have a determining voice; Lord Rosebery on the "in and out" question; also Sir George Trevelyan on the worthlessness of the veto under the circumstances; and Mr. Morley on the real strength of the position; and *United Ireland* on the general situation.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1229-35; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 693-5.)

Mr. BALFOUR quoted Mr. Morley at Newcastle, in 1886, on "the arbitrators and masters of English policy." etc.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1,243; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 696.)

After four and a half hours' discussion and the closure resolution,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment ...	...	...	...	209
Against the Amendment ...	...	...	...	240
Majority ...				31

(Division List No. 206.)

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK moved—page 4, line 27—after the the word "day" to insert:—

"Existing Constituencies shall be abolished, and a number of members shall be returned from Ireland to serve in Parlia-

ment bearing the same proportion to the total number of members as the contribution of Ireland fixed in this Act bears to the total Imperial expenditure."

He pointed out that under the Bill Ireland, speaking roughly, would bear 1-40th of the burden—why should she have 5-40ths of the power? The proportion of payment would be 6/6 for every Irishman against 35/- for every Englishman and Scotchman.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1288-9; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 701.)

The Amendment was negatived.

Sir CHARLES DILKE proposed—page 4, line 27—after the word "constituencies" to insert the word "*hereinafter*."

Mr. GLADSTONE, in opposing, described the scheme as being "in the rough." The Government had proceeded on a basis which would avoid disfranchisement. Later on, when twitted with the admission by Mr. Goschen, Mr. Gladstone denied having made it.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1308; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 705.)

Mr. RUSSELL gave some examples of the injustice of the method employed.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1309; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 705.)

In the course of the debate there was constant misrepresentation of the Chairman's ruling with regard to Mr. Redmond's motion, from the Government benches. Lord Randolph Churchill called attention to the fact that under the ruling the Opposition had to vote with Mr. Redmond as the only way in which the exclusion of members could be raised. Now it was being contended that because the Opposition had voted in this way, every attempt to amend the Clause in other directions was a direct departure from principle.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1314; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 706.)

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said by the vote on his Amendment *some scheme of redistribution was necessary, but the present was imperfect*.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1316; T.D. vol. xxiv., p. 707.)

After two hours' discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	182
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	212
Majority	...	...	...	30

(Division List No. 207.)

In the course of further discussion—

Mr. BARTLEY called attention to the fact that although Dr. Wallace had most emphatically protested against any Irish Members being retained, he had voted for the retention of 80.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1330; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 709.)

Mr. JOHN REDMOND announced his intention to vote for University representation in order to increase the number of Irish representatives.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1364; T.D. vol. xxiv., p. 71.)

Mr. DAVID PLUNKET spoke of the general character of University representation.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1382; T.D. vol. xxiv., p. 7187.)

On the eve of the adjournment on Wednesday, 12th July, the day previous to the “gagging” of the second compartment, and *when only some five hours remained for discussion*,

Mr. GLADSTONE moved the omission of Sections III. and IV. of the Clause under discussion [IX.]—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 25; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 725.)

Mr. RATHBONE protested.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1425; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 727.)

Mr. WALLACE followed in a humorous speech, which was

delivered in two Sittings.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1427 and 1486; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 728 and 735.)

Mr. LABOUCHERE thought the best plan was total exclusion.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1495; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 738.)

Later on, in reply to Mr. Balfour, he explained he would not vote in support of this conviction for fear of wrecking the Bill,—(P.D., vol. xxiv., p. 1502; T.D., xxiv., p. 739.)

Mr. BALFOUR having spoken and been replied to in a heated speech by Mr. Gladstone,

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN quoted Mr. Gladstone's previous references to retention. He challenged Mr. Gladstone with direct evasion and refusal to declare the Government policy on the matter.

Mr. GLADSTONE :—"I fully understood the purport of the questions of my right honourable friend, and I was determined to defeat it."—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1519; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 744.)

Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Darling, Mr. John Redmond, Sir Henry James and Mr. Atherly Jones, spoke in addition to Dr. Clark, who said he could not support the change of policy. If the Government went to the Country with this they would go to certain defeat.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1535; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 747.)

The "Gag" was applied at 10 o'clock.

The Committee divided—

For the Omission	...	...	...	...	325
Against the Omission...	...	...	...	...	298
Majority					27

On the motion that the Clause be added

The Committee divided—

For the Clause	...	...	...	...	326
Against the Clause	...	...	...	...	297
Majority					29

(Division Lists 211-212.)

Clause IX.

[As Amended in Committee. The italics show the words added. The words in black type bracketed were deleted.]

Unless and until Parliament otherwise determines, the following provisions shall have effect :—

- (1.) After the appointed day each of the constituencies named in the Second Schedule to this Act shall return to serve in Parliament the number of members named opposite thereto in that Schedule, and no more, and Dublin University shall cease to return any member.
- (2.) The existing divisions of the constituencies shall, save as provided in that Schedule, be abolished.

[(3.) An Irish representative peer in the House of Lords and a member of the House of Commons for an Irish constituency shall not be entitled to deliberate or vote on—

- (a) any Bill or motion in relation thereto, the operation of which Bill or motion is confined to Great Britain or some part thereof; or**
- (b) any motion or resolution relating solely to some tax not raised or to be raised in Ireland; or**
- (c) any vote or appropriation of money made exclusively for some service not mentioned in the Third Schedule to this Act; or**
- (d) any motion or resolution exclusively affecting Great Britain or some part thereof or some local authority or some person or thing therein; or**
- (e) any motion or resolution, incidental to any such motion or resolution as either is last mentioned, or relates solely to some tax not raised or be raised in Ireland, or incidental to any such vote or appropriation of money as aforesaid.**

(4.) Compliance with the provisions of this section shall not be questioned otherwise than in each House in manner provided by the House.]

- (3.) The election laws and the laws relating to the qualification of parliamentary electors shall not, so far as they relate to parliamentary elections, be altered by the Irish Legislature, but this enactment shall not prevent the Irish Legislature from dealing with any officers concerned with the issue of writs of election, and if any officers are so dealt with, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to arrange for the issue of such writs, and the writs issued in pursuance of such Order shall be of the same effect as if issued in manner heretofore accustomed.

Clauses X., XI., XII., XIII., XVII., XX., XXI. were then put and negatived without discussion.

Clauses XIV., XV., XVI. were postponed.

Clauses XVIII., XIX., XX., XXII., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., XXVI. were put and adopted without discussion.

(Division Lists 213-20.) (July 13.)

* The series of divisions which took place last night under the second compartment of the "guillotine" resolution was devoid of exciting incident. The cross-voting on Clause 9, was in consequence of the extreme pressure brought to bear upon the Gladstonian Waverers by the party wire-pullers, less than had been anticipated; and upon the subsequent Clauses the dissent did not assume a more serious form than occasional abstentions. Five Gladstonians—Mr. Bolton, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Atherly-Jones, and Dr. Clark—voted against the Government on Mr. Gladstone's Amendment to Clause 9; and two—Messrs. C. E. Shaw and Illingworth—abstained. In the second division, however—on the question that Clause 9 as amended stand part of the Bill—Messrs. Shaw and Illingworth supported the Government, while Mr. Wallace abstained. The Unionist "Whipping" was magnificent, nearly every member being accounted for either in the division lists or in the list of pairs. Even Mr. Villiers, the "father of the House," put in an appearance, and took part in the first two divisions. After Clause 9 had been disposed of he left, but not until a pair had been found for him.—*Times* Political Notes.

Clauses XXVII.—XL.

THIRD COMPARTMENT.

15 [56 VICT.]

Government of Ireland.

27.—(1.) All existing judges of the Supreme Court, county court judges, and Land Commissioners in Ireland and all existing officers serving in Ireland in the permanent civil service of the Crown and receiving salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, shall, if they are removable at present on address from both Houses of Parliament, continue to be removable only upon such address, and if removable in any other manner shall continue to be removable only in the same manner as heretofore ; and shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore, or such duties as Her Majesty may declare to be analogous, and their salaries and pensions, if and so far as not paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom : Provided that this section shall be subject to the provisions of this Act with respect to the Exchequer judges.

(2.) *If any of the said judges, commissioners, or officers retires from office with the Queen's approbation before completion of the period of service entitling him to a pension, Her Majesty may, if she thinks fit, grant to him such pension, not exceeding the pension to which he would on that completion have been entitled, as to Her Majesty seems meet.*

The debates on this Clause extended over one sitting, and lasted six and a half hours. (July 17.)

Mr. SEXTON moved—page 15, line 21—to omit:—

“and Land Commissioners of Ireland.”

Mr. MORLEY, in the course of replies to different members,

said the purpose of the Clause was simply "to protect vested interests." The question as to the purchase money and laws affecting the same would be found dealt with in the Financial Clauses, but so long as money was advanced out of British Treasury the Irish Parliament would not be able to alter or vary conditions of advance.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1719; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 6.)

The Amendment was by leave withdrawn later on.

Mr. STOREY spoke of "a sordid policy," and advocated Irish Government being free to transfer officers or get rid of them on the best terms in the public interest.

Mr. SETON-KARR pointed out that Mr. Storey should not take exception to this as a sordid policy, inasmuch as he was one of those who wanted to appropriate public funds for payment of members.—(P.D. vol. xiv., p. 1740; T.D. vol. xxv., p. 8).

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked what security would British taxpayers have for repayment if Civil Service salaries were to be on British Exchequer guarantee.

Mr. Morley and Mr. Sexton replied—Clause XIV.

Mr. GOSCHEN regarded this as most unsatisfactory. The Lord-Lieutenant might sign a cheque, but how was it to be honoured?—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1743; T.D., vol. xxiv., p. 9.)

Mr. MORLEY proposed—page 15, line 21—at end of Clause, as a new sub-section, to add the words:—

"This section shall apply to existing officers serving in the permanent Civil Service of the Crown who, although receiving salaries out of money provided by Parliament, are removable only for misconduct or incapacity."

Mr. SEXTON proposed to insert at beginning of the Amendment:—

“*Sub-section 1 of.*”

Mr. MORLEY having intimated agreement with **Mr. Sexton's** view,

Mr. SETON-KARR complained he had been led to withdraw a previous Amendment in the interests of the Clerks of the Crown, in the belief that the Government represented themselves as in sympathy with its spirit; and now another Amendment of the very opposite character was being accepted. *He charged a breach of faith with the Committee.*—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1755; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 10.)

Mr. WM. KENNY said there were three classes of Civil Servants provided for under the 27th and 28th Clauses: (1) those whose salaries were charged on the Consolidated Fund; (2) those who held office during good behaviour; (3) those who held during pleasure, and whose salaries were not charged on Consolidated Fund. But for **Mr. Morley's** Amendment the second class would have come under the 28th Clause. The Bankruptcy Judges were of the third class. How were they to be treated? Why should not they get the benefit of the full clause? It was not accurate to represent the present Amendment as framed to meet an inadvertence. The Government intention, set forth in April last, was quite clear, and pointed to giving those latter officers all the benefits.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1759; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 11.)

After an hour and a half's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For Mr. Sexton's Amendment	...	...	194
Against the Amendment	...	...	142
			<hr/>
Majority	...		52

(Division List No. 221.)

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL moved to add at the end of Sub-section :—

“ And Sub-section II. shall apply to the Judges in Bankruptcy.”

After a short discussion Mr. Morley undertook to deal with the matter on report.

(P.D., vol. XIV., 1774; T.D., vol. XXV., p. 13.)

Mr. SETON-KARR moved to add at the end of the Clause the following sub-sections:—

“ The Superannuation Act, 1859 (the 22nd year of Victoria, chapter 26, section 4), shall be deemed to extend to the office of clerks of the Crown and peace appointed under the County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act, 1877, and every such officer on retiring shall be entitled on the computation of the amount of his superannuation allowance to have added to the number of years he may have actually served a further additional 15 years on account of professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service, and every such officer shall be entitled to such superannuation after a period of service of five years.

“ In case the said office of clerk of the Crown and peace be abolished, every existing officer, if then holding office, shall be entitled to a superannuation allowance equal to his three-fourths salary, such allowance to be payable out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.”

Mr. BALFOUR pointed out that by the acceptance of Mr. Sexton's Amendment the Civil Servants had been divided into two classes—one to receive, and the other to be excluded, from the benefits of Sub-section II. He suggested they should now

divide on this Amendment, and reserve discussion on general retirement until Clause XXVIII.

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	201
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	246
				<hr/>
Majority	...			45

(Division List No. 222.)

Clause XXVII.—As amended, No. XXIV.

[As Amended in Committee. The italics show the words added. The words in black type bracketed were deleted.]

(1.) All existing judges of the Supreme Court, county court judges, and Land Commissioners in Ireland and all existing officers serving in Ireland in the permanent civil service of the Crown and receiving salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, shall, if they are removable at present on address from both Houses of Parliament, continue to be removable only upon such address, and if removable in any other manner shall continue to be removable only in the same manner as heretofore; and shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore, or such duties as Her Majesty may declare to be analogous, and their salaries and pensions [**if and so far as not paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund**] shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, *and all sums so paid shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer*: Provided that this section shall be subject to the provisions of this Act with respect to the Exchequer judges.

(2.) If any of the said judges, commissioners, or officers retires from office with the Queen's approbation before completion of the period of service entitling him to a pension, Her Majesty may, if she thinks fit, grant to him such pension not exceeding the pension to which he would on that completion have been entitled, as to Her Majesty seems meet.

(3.) *Sub-section (1) of this section shall apply to existing officers serving in Ireland in the permanent civil service of the Crown, who, although receiving salaries out of money provided by Parliament, are removable only for misconduct or incapacity.*

CLAUSE XXVIII.

28.—(1.) All existing officers in the permanent civil service of the crown, who are not above provided for, and are at the appointed day serving in Ireland, shall after that day continue
25 to hold their offices by the same tenure and to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore or such duties as the Treasury may declare to be analogous; *and the said gratuities and pensions, and until three years after the passing of this Act, the salaries due to*
30 *any of the said officers if remaining in his existing office, shall be paid to the payces by the Treasury out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(2.) Any such officer may after *three years* from the passing of this Act retire from office, and shall, at any time during those
35 three years, if required by the Irish Government, retire from office, and on any such retirement may be awarded by the Treasury a gratuity or pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act; Provided that—

(a) six months' written notice shall, unless it is otherwise agreed,
40 be given either by the said officer or by the Irish Government as the case requires; and

(b) such number of officers only shall retire at one time and at such intervals of time as the Treasury, in communication with the Irish Government, sanction.

(3.) If any such officer does not so retire, the Treasury may award him after the said three years a pension in accordance with
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the Fifth Schedule to this Act, which shall become payable to him on his ultimate retirement from the service of the Crown.

5 (4.) *The gratuities and pensions awarded in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(5.) All sums paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in pursuance of this section shall be repaid to that Exchequer
10 from the Irish Exchequer.

(6.) This section shall not apply to officers retained in the service of the Government of the United Kingdom.

The debate on this Clause extended over three sittings, and lasted 13½ hours. (July 17, 18, 19.)

Mr. MORLEY explained the scheme and the scope of the clauses at some length.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1779; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 14.)

Mr. BALFOUR and Mr. GLADSTONE dealt with the possibilities of change and the attitude of the Irish Members towards Civil Service, &c.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1841-59; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 21-24.)

Dealing with Mr. GLADSTONE'S contention that in addition to following the English principle of adding a certain number of years to service to produce increase of pension, the Government credited the Irish Civil Servant with the five years of the transitional period, although he might not have served that time,—Mr. GOSCHEN said:—"Only in certain cases. The officers who have not served their full time may be benefited, but those who serve the full five years receive no benefit at all from the arrangement."

Mr. GLADSTONE:—"Does my right honourable friend see that they have not chosen to take advantage of the provision? They can give six months' notice; and if they choose to do so, four and a half years out of the five will be enjoyed by every one of them."

Mr. GOSCHEN :—By sacrificing four and a half years' salary, they get five years' half salary.—(P.D., vol. xiv., p. 1854; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 23.)

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL called attention to the fact that the Irish Members had frequently threatened to clear out the Irish Land Commissioners at the first opportunity. He quoted case of clerk with 13 years' service receiving £170 per annum and a pension of £91 13s. 4d. In the natural course this man, at the end of his service, would realize £6,095. Another clerk, with 12 years' service, £170 per annum and pension of £88 would realize £6,428. Then, as regards their liabilities, one of them paid house rent of £40, life insurance of £12, and was a married man with a young family. Was it fair to leave it to the Irish Government to dismiss these men?—(P.D. vol. xiv., p. 1867; T.D. vol. xxv., p. 25.)

At the end of a lengthy and detailed discussion the Clause as amended was added to the Bill.

Clause XXVIII.—No. XXV. as amended.

[As Amended in Committee. The italics show the words added. The words in black type bracketed were deleted.]

(1.) All existing officers in the permanent civil service of the Crown, who are not above provided for, and are at the appointed day serving in Ireland, shall after that day continue to hold their offices by the same tenure and to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions *according to the scale of the class to which they belong*, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore or such duties as the Treasury *in communication with the Irish Government* may declare to be analogous; *and during the period of five years after the passing of this Act (in this section and the Fourth Schedule referred to as the transitional period),* the said gratuities and pensions, [**and until three years after the passing of this Act, the salaries due to any of the said officers, if remaining in his existing office**] shall be [**paid**]

to the payees] awarded by the Treasury after communicating with the Irish Government, and the gratuities and pensions so awarded and the said salaries shall be paid to the payees by the Treasury out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom. Any such officer shall during the transitional period hold office unless he—

[(2.) Any such officer may after three years from the passing of this Act retire from office, and shall, at any time during those three years, if required by the Irish Government, retire from office, and on any such retirement may be awarded by the Treasury a gratuity or pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act; Provided that—]

- (a.) *leaves the service on a medical certificate, or under the existing rules as to age, or is dismissed for misconduct or incapacity; or*
- (b.) *is removed upon an abolition of office or re-organization of department which does not involve the appointment of any new officer; or*
- (c.) *resigns under this section; or*
- (d.) *is required by the Irish Government to retire.*

Provided that—

- (a.) *six months' written notice of resignation under this section or of required retirement shall, unless it is otherwise agreed, be given either by the said officer or by the Irish Government as the case requires; and*
- (b.) *before the end of the transitional period such number of officers only shall resign under this section, or be required to retire at one time and at such intervals of time as the Treasury, after [in] communication with the Irish Government, sanctions, however that a notice to resign under this section given by an officer shall, unless withdrawn, operate at the end of the transitional period if he has not sooner left the service; and*

[(3.) If any such officer does not so retire, the Treasury may award him after the said three years a

pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act, which shall become payable to him on his ultimate retirement from the service of the Crown.]

(c.) *an officer resigning under this section shall show that he is not incapacitated by mental or bodily infirmity for the performance of his duties, and that he will not be required under the existing rules as to age to retire before the end of the transitional period, and otherwise he shall not be entitled to any further gratuity or pension than he would have been entitled to if he had left the service on a medical certificate.*

(3.) *Upon any such removal, or resignation under this section, or required retirement, there may be awarded to the officer by the Treasury, after communication with the Irish Government, a gratuity or pension in accordance with the Fourth Schedule to this Act, and for that purpose his service shall be reckoned as if it had continued to the end of the transitional period, or to any earlier date at which under the existing rules as to age he will be required to retire.*

[(4.) The gratuities and pensions awarded in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.]

(4.) *If any such officer is serving in a capacity which qualifies him for a pension under the Superannuation Act, 1859, and continues to hold office after the end of the transitional period the Treasury may, within three months after the end of that period, award him a pension in accordance with the Fourth Schedule to this Act which shall become payable to him on his ultimate retirement from the service of the Crown.*

(4.) *The gratuities and pensions awarded in pursuance of this section, shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(5.) *All sums paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in pursuance of this section shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.*

(6.) This section shall not apply to officers retained in the service of the Government of the United Kingdom, *except that this section shall apply to the Clerical staff of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police, with the substitution of the Treasury for the Irish Government.*

(7.) *Where an officer, though not in the permanent civil service, is in the public service of the Crown, then—*

- (a.) *if he devotes his whole time to the duties of his office, this section shall apply to him in like manner as if he were in the permanent civil service; and*
- (b.) *if he does not so devote his whole time, and is removed from his office for any cause other than incapacity or misconduct, he may apply to the Treasury, who may award him compensation for loss of office in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act.*

(8.) *This section shall apply to petty sessions clerks and to officers in the registry of petty sessions clerks in like manner as to officers in the public service of the Crown, with the exceptions that any payment in pursuance of this section to any such clerk or officer shall be made out of the fund out of which the pension of such clerk or officer is payable instead of out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, and that in considering the amount of gratuity or pension regard shall be had to the amount of the fund;*

Provided that—

- (a.) *If, by reason of anything done after the appointed day, the fund becomes insufficient to meet the full amount of the said gratuities and pensions, the deficiency shall be charged on and paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, but such charge shall be repaid, if and when the state of the fund allows to the Irish Consolidated Fund; and*
- (b.) *the existing accumulated fund shall not be applied for any new purpose until every such gratuity and pension is satisfied.*

(9.) *For the purpose of determining finally the facts on all questions which may arise during the transitional period, as to the rights of the officers or any of them under this section, there shall be appointed a committee, consisting*

of A. B., the chairman, and C. D., and one other person to be nominated after the appointed by the Executive Committee of the Irish Privy Council. Any vacancy which may arise among the persons named in this section, may be filled by Her Majesty under Her Royal Sign Manual, and any vacancy which may arise from the death or resignation of the person nominated by the Executive Committee may be filled by that Committee.

Clause XXIX.

29. Any existing pension granted on account of service in Ireland as a judge of the Supreme Court or of any court consolidated into that
 15 court, or as a county court judge, or in any other judicial position, or as an officer in the permanent civil service of the Crown other than in an office the holder of which is after the appointed day retained in the service of the Government of the United Kingdom, shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund, and if and so
 20 far as not paid out of that fund, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

The Clause was agreed to with verbal alteration without debate. (July 19.)

Clause XXX.

Police.

30.—(1.) The forces of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police shall, when and as local police forces are from
 25 time to time established in Ireland in accordance with the Sixth

Schedule to this Act, be gradually reduced and ultimately cease to exist as mentioned in that Schedule ; and after the passing of this Act, no officer or man shall be appointed to either of those forces ;

30 Provided that until the expiration of *six* years from the appointed day, nothing in this Act shall require the Lord-Lieutenant to cause either of the said forces to cease to exist, if as representing Her Majesty the Queen he considers it inexpedient.

(2.) The said two forces shall, while they continue, be subject to the control of the Lord-Lieutenant as representing Her Majesty,
35 and the members thereof shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and hold their appointments on the same tenure as heretofore, *and those salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and all the expenditure incidental to either force, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(3.) When any existing member of either force retires under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to this Act, the Treasury may award to him a gratuity or pension in accordance with that Schedule.

5 (4.) *Those gratuities and pensions and all existing pensions payable in respect of service in either force, shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

(5.) *Two-thirds of the net amount payable in pursuance of this section out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom shall be repaid*
10 *to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.*

The debate on this Clause extended over one sitting and lasted 5½ hours. (July 20.)

Mr. BOLTON moved—page 16, line 24—to leave out “shall” and insert “may.”

He quoted Mr. Gladstone's undertaking as to the Force in 1886, that they would not be put to prejudice as regarded either term of service or authority. The hardship on the officers was illustrated by the case of a man drawing £255 a year, only getting a pension of £93; £237 producing a pension of £75, and £191 a pension of £48. As regarded men, a man who had joined at 21 and served something like 10 years would be entitled under scale proposed to about 9/- per week.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 112; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 45.)

A discussion took place as to the precise position in which matters were, which was summed up as follows:

Mr. MATTHEWS:—"The Chief Secretary has stated the intention of the Government to be that the gradual reduction shall not be compulsory on the Lord-Lieutenant."

Mr. MORLEY:—"What I said was that you are not to suppose that each particular withdrawal is to be necessarily within six months accompanied by a corresponding reduction."

Mr. MATTHEWS:—"I quite agree, that is what the Chief Secretary said. The reduction is not to be compulsory on the Lord-Lieutenant in consequence of the withdrawal, but the Lord-Lieutenant is to act as the requirements of the Force in other parts of Ireland make it proper for him to act. The Sixth Schedule more or less roughly indicates that view on the part of the Government. Under these circumstances the word "shall" becomes totally inappropriate."

Mr. GLADSTONE:—"We do not impose upon the Lord-Lieutenant the necessity for reduction."

Mr. MATTHEWS:—"If you do not mean to lay an obligation on him why do you say he "shall" reduce?"—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 25; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 46.)

After one and a half hour's discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment ...	...	...	...	246
Against the Amendment ...	...	...	...	278
Majority ...				32

(Division List No. 229.)

Mr. SEXTON moved—page 16, line 24—to omit “*local*.”

His argument was that there would be no suitable local authority for some time under which the police force could be placed. Disturbances would occur in Ulster where the local authority would be in opposition to the Central Legislature.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 130, 5; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 46-7.)

Mr. WYNDHAM quoted **Mr. Fowler** on 1st June. When he said, “by using the words ‘local police force,’ it is made impossible to create an armed force;” also **Mr. Gladstone** and **Mr. Morley** on same date.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 136-9; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 47.)

Mr. GLADSTONE opposed Amendment, admitting “that this course involved a narrowing of privileges which under happier circumstances might probably be left unimpaired.”—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 142; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 47.)

Mr. JOHN REDMOND spoke in favour of Amendment, as also **Mr. DILLON**.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL considered **Mr. Sexton** had now shown his hand regarding the treatment Ulster would receive from an Irish Parliament.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 148; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 49.)

Colonel SAUNDERSON quoted **Mr. Dillon’s** cross-examination at Cork, in 1891, when he said he hoped yet to “break up and disorganise” the Royal Irish Constabulary.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 150; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 49.)

After an hour’s discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	...	110
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	...	237
			Majority	...	127

The Minority was made up of some few Radicals voting with the Irish Party.—(Division List No. 230.)

After some further discussion, at ten o'clock the "Gag" was applied.

On the question "That Clause XXX. as amended stand part of the Bill."

The Committee divided—

For the Clause ...	...	...	...	...	315
Against the Clause	...	...	...	...	289
Majority					26

(Division List No. 232.)

Clause XXX.—No. XXIX. as amended.

[As Amended in Committee. The italics show the words added. The words in black type bracketed were deleted.]

(1.) The forces of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police shall, when and as local police forces are from time to time established in Ireland in accordance with the [**Sixth**] *Fifth* Schedule to this Act, be gradually reduced and ultimately cease to exist as mentioned in that Schedule; and *thereupon the Acts relating to such forces shall be repealed, and no forces organized and armed in like manner, or otherwise than according to the accustomed manner of a civil police, shall be created under any Irish Act*; and after the passing of this Act, no officer or man shall be appointed to either of those forces;

Provided that until the expiration of six years from the appointed day, nothing in this Act shall require the Lord Lieutenant to cause either of the said forces to cease to exist, if as representing Her Majesty the Queen he considers it inexpedient.

(2.) The said two forces shall, while they continue, be subject to the control of the Lord Lieutenant as representing her Majesty, and the members thereof shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and hold their appointments on the same tenure as heretofore, and those salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and all
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the expenditure incidental to either force, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

(3.) When any existing member of either force retires under the provisions of the [**Sixth**] *Fifth* Schedule to this Act, the Treasury may award to him a gratuity or pension in accordance with that Schedule.

(4.) Those gratuities and pensions and all existing pensions payable in respect of service in either force, shall be paid by the Treasury to the payee out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

(5.) Two-thirds of the net amount payable in pursuance of this section out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.

CLAUSES XXXI., XXXII., XXXIII., XXXV., XXXVI., XXXVIII., were then added to the Bill without discussion.

(Division Lists Nos. 232-238.)

Clause **XXXIX.** was negatived.

CLAUSES XXXIV., XXXVII., XL., were agreed to.
(July 20.)

Financial Clauses.

FOURTH COMPARTMENT.

The debate on these Clauses extended over five sittings, and occupied twenty-seven and a half hours. (July 21, 24, 25, 26, 27.)

On the question that the Clause be read a second time, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN called attention to the following facts—

- (1.) This was the Third Financial scheme of the present Bill.
- (2.) No single Financial return connected with any of the three schemes was in agreement with others.
- (3.) The principal of the 1886 Bill was payment according to taxable capacity—one-quarter of the total contribution of the United Kingdom.
- (4.) This was succeeded by a gratuitous gift of, at first £1,400,000, and later on £1,700,000, being balance of duties collected in one but paid on goods consumed in another country.
- (5.) By the introduction of this feature, Ireland's taxable contribution was reduced to one-twenty-fifth.
- (6.) In February last a new principle was presented, reducing it to one-twenty-sixth.
- (7.) Then another present of £500,000 was decided upon, which reduced the quota to one-thirtieth.

So much for previous ideas. As regards the present scheme :—

- (a) One-third of the Irish Revenue was to be taken because it was represented as the present payment of Ireland by the Government.
- (b) This however, was no criterion of what it might represent six months after the Bill would come into force.
- (c) This one-third represented a working out at one-twenty-seventh or one-twenty-eighth.
- (d) But the Government stultified all this by deducting from this, one-third of Constabulary cost and the cost of collection of Revenue, with the result that this one-twenty-seventh or one-twenty-eighth resolved itself into one-fortieth.

Therefore it came about that whereas the first representation was that the quota would be one-fifteenth, it really worked out one-twenty-fifth; secondly, the one-twenty-sixth went up to one-thirtieth; and thirdly, the one-twenty-eighth would only give one-fortieth. The similarity of the schemes was that somehow or other the Irish Government was to have a surplus of £500,000.

The objections to Government scheme were of two kinds; the method and the result. Every figure employed was an estimate which varied from day to day. For instance, in the present year Irish Customs are returned at £21,000 less than last year; Excise at £58,000; and Stamps at £48,000.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 213-7; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 56-7.)

The Right Hon. Gentleman dealt with case of transfer of business, illicit distillation, death duties, and effect of Irish Members in case of Budget, in Imperial Parliament.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 219-20; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 57-8.)

The three important points of difference between the various schemes of 1886 and 1893 were these:—

- (1.) In 1886, the proposal was to pay one-third of the Constabulary cost, but the savings as the force, gradually reduced, all went to reduce the British contribution till it was wiped out. Now Great Britain only got one-third of the savings.
- (2.) Great Britain obtained control over Excise and Customs in 1893, and in case of war Ireland's contribution was fixed at one-twelfth—a manifest improvement on the Bill of 1886, where no such provisions were made. Still the question arose—why, if Ireland was to pay one-twelfth in time of actual war, should she only pay one-fortieth when heavy expense was incurred, year in year out, to prepare for, if not prevent war, with great military expenditure?
- (3.) In the early schemes, the cost of collection was tacked on to local expenditure. Now the proposal

was to put it down as Imperial Expenditure. The cost of collecting Irish taxes for Irish purposes was to be a matter of Imperial Expenditure! Why? The Government made a mistake of £350,000 as regards Excise, and so to provide the surplus reduced by this amount the cost of collection had to be transferred.

Coming to deal with the Irish Budget, the Right Hon. Gentleman presented the case as follows:—

The gross Irish contribution was represented as £2,280,000, or one-twenty-eighth of the Imperial expenditure. Deducting the cost of collection, the nett contribution would be £2,050,000, or one-thirtieth of the nett expenditure, so that the quota was raised artificially by making Ireland the present of cost of collection.

Ireland last year paid £2,103,000, but if £486,000 for Police and £227,000 for Excise collection be taken off, the gross contribution calculated by Government— (£2,280,000)—the nett figure would be £1,560,000, or £543,000 less than Ireland paid last year.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 225-6; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 59.)

The Treasury Returns were inaccurate, and this difference would probably turn out to be £700,000. In two returns presented on the one day there was a difference of £200,000.

Testing the wealth of Ireland by the death duties calculation, the figure was one-eighteenth, and this he contended was what she *ought* to pay. Judged by this standard, Ireland under the Government proposal would be paying £1,800,000 less than she ought.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 230; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 60.)

In reply to Mr. Goschen,

Mr. FOWLER, speaking after Mr. Chamberlain, put the

error in calculation down at £350,000.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 233 ; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 61.)

Continuing, Mr. FOWLER said the percentage of payment to Imperial Revenue by Ireland was:—

1890	...	...	8.03
1891	...	...	7.99;
1892	...	...	7.90;
1893	...	...	7.85;

therefore, Ireland was at the moment contributing one-twelfth. The present Tax Revenue of Ireland was £6,936,000, and the cost of the Government of Ireland, including the deficit on the Post Office, £4,634,000; which left the contribution, exclusive of cost of collection, at £2,302,000. The cost of collection was included in the gross Imperial charge Ireland was credited with—one-third of her Revenue, *i.e.*, Customs, Excise, Stamps, Income Tax, Crown Lands and miscellaneous receipts. These sums gave a total of £4,660,000. This left the contribution to the Imperial Exchequer at £2,262,000, to which should be added a very small amount of taxation collected in England from persons living in Ireland—£14,000. The difference between Mr. Chamberlain and himself was only about £25,000.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN dissented, and said no reference was made to the Constabulary.

Mr. FOWLER said he was taking the Constabulary at its full charge. Ireland would receive one-third, Great Britain two-thirds of the Revenue collected in Ireland—£8,512,000. The calculated cost of collection was £235,000; the proportionate cost of collection of amount payable as between articles consumed in Ireland and Great Britain being £120,000.

What was done was to take the whole cost of Imperial Expenditure, adding the cost of collecting, making £63,000,000; and to this amount the Irish contribution would represent a proportion of 3.62 per cent., or one-twenty-seventh or one-twenty-eighth. Ireland was given her share of Imperial Receipts, such

as profits on Mint, Receipts from Suez Canal Shares, &c. The Police Grant of £500,000 was a distinct bonus to Ireland, justified on politic and financial grounds.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 232-7; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 61-2.)

Taking the average for five years Ireland had paid something between one-eighteenth and one-twenty-second of the Income Tax and Death Duties.

In reply to Mr. Brodrick Mr. FOWLER said:—"This was not taking the property assessed to be Death Duty, but the Duty paid." Whereupon Mr. Goschen remarked:—"That is no test."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 239; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 627.)

Taking the whole assessment of Income Tax the contribution of Ireland was one-twenty-second.

Applying the political economists' test—*i.e.* allowing £12 a head, which was not to be taxed at all—to the returns of population made by Mr. Giffen in 1886, the taxable income of Great Britain was shown to be £800,000,000, and that of Ireland £15,000,000.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 241; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 63.)

Mr. JOHN REDMOND advocated the appointment of a Special Commission on this question, and the giving to the Irish Parliament the collection of all taxes, revenue included. Previous financial returns had been proved to be wrong; what guarantee had they that this was correct?—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 242-53; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 63-4.)

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK pointed out that from Government Returns it appeared that while Ireland's Parliamentary representation was more than 15 per cent. her contribution to expenditure was under eight per cent. Imperial grants had been so large that Ireland's nett contribution was only three per cent. to Great Britain's 97. In grants for Public Works, Scotland had received £9,400,000, and England £50,000,000, while the amounts remitted were—Scotland £365,000; England £474,000, and Ireland £10,400,000. From the official returns it appeared that Ireland would only pay 6s. 6d. per head, while Englishmen and Scotchmen

would have to pay 35s. In 1886 Mr. Gladstone had said Irishmen would pay 13s. 5d. to the 30s. paid in Great Britain, and he did not consider it an inequitable arrangement, but now it was a case of 6s. 6d. versus 35s.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 254-7; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 64-5.)

Mr. COHEN pointed out that not a word had been vouchsafed in explanation of why cost of collection should be borne by England. *Surely reason would suggest that if Ireland was to have two-thirds, she should pay two-thirds of the cost of collection.* —(P.D., vol. xv., p. 331; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 71.)

Mr. G. BALFOUR said the last return of the Government showed that the present net contribution of Ireland to the Imperial expenditure was £2,113,000. To that he added a sum of £225,000, which he understood the right hon. gentleman opposite to say would be the cost of collecting the revenue in Ireland, and thus he arrived at the gross total of Ireland's contribution as £2,338,000. The gross contribution of Ireland as proposed under the scheme was £2,276,000, and subtracting that from the former sum, the loss to the Imperial Exchequer was £62,000. To that was to be added the charge for the constabulary. The right hon. gentleman would say that that was a vanishing charge, but in the first year it would amount to £486,000. These two sums added together gave a total loss to the British Exchequer of £548,000. But that was not all. There was an item in the account of the expenditure of Ireland amounting to £120,000 for public works and buildings, and another item of £152,000 for railways. These two sums added together made £272,000, and therefore he arrived at the conclusion that the total loss under the new system would be £820,000. If they subtracted this sum from £2,276,000 the result was £1,456,000, which represented the true net contribution of Ireland to the Imperial expenditure. That amount was about equivalent to 1-42nd part of the Imperial expenditure. In order to arrive at the net contribution payable by Ireland to this country, the right hon. gentleman on Friday last adopted this method—he took the total revenue of Ireland, and then the amount of the Irish charges, and subtracted the latter from the former. If they compared the contribution of Ireland in 1891-92 with her contribution in 1892-93, a considerable discrepancy would be found. In the former year there was a sum

of £250,000 spent on railways, and it was that sum which made the difference. This expenditure on public works was in the nature of a special and exceptional charge, and ought not to enter into the calculation at all. The same remark would apply also to the charge for the Constabulary.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 338; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 72.)

In the course of further speeches,

Sir WM. HARCOURT referred to "the fallacy that runs through the whole of the fly-sheet which has been distributed by the hon. member for Surrey. Why, the figures are absolutely fallacious from beginning to end. He takes the Prime Minister's figures of 1886 in order to compare them with the present figures, and he deducts the £500,000 from the one and not from the other. A man who makes calculations in that way cannot carry any possible weight in matters of this kind. It is no use arguing on figures of that description."

Mr. BRODRICK: "May I remind the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Prime Minister himself stated in his speech of 1886 that he confidently expected the charge for the constabulary would not exceed a million."

Sir WM. HARCOURT: "If that were so, I do not see how the Prime Minister could have arrived at the results he stated on that occasion. If the hon. gentleman chooses to rely on figures of that description I cannot help it.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 344; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 73.)—I have shown how for years you have lost £500,000 in Irish contributions. In 1889-90 the contribution was £2,500,000. Last year it was barely more than £2,000,000. That has gone in endeavouring to buy off the unpopularity of your Coercion Bill. You have had in that time to use more force, and your expenditure on force has been greater than it was before. You have had to offer the Irish bribes as the price of peace."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 356; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 76.)

Mr. JACKSON considered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer hardly did himself justice, and certainly did not do justice to the leader of the Opposition, when he spoke of the efforts

made to relieve pressing and urgent distress in Ireland as a bribe given to buy the hostility of hon. gentlemen below the gangway. At the time that expenditure was undertaken they were threatened with a grave calamity in Ireland.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: "I did not say he ought not to have done it." (Oh.)

Mr. JACKSON: Then why did the right hon. gentleman condemn the expenditure of these large sums? (An hon. member.—He said they were bribes).—(P.D., p. 358; T.D., p. 75.) The right hon. gentleman had hardly behaved quite fairly or frankly with the members of the Opposition. He spoke over and over again of the year 1892-3, and then he said that he would take three years as establishing what he called the normal condition of the account. It was true, he admitted, that in those years there had been exceptional expenditure; but that very fact destroyed altogether the accuracy of the statement that those three years were to be taken as normal years. From figures which he had himself extracted he found that £240,000 was about the average yearly expenditure in Ireland upon public works and buildings during the 15 years prior to 1890-1. In the three years which the right hon. gentleman had taken as normal, the expenditure under this head jumped up from the figure named to £409,000, £573,000 and £336,000 respectively. These years could not, therefore, be taken as normal. The expenditure which had been incurred on railways in Ireland would result in great advantage to that country, but the method of computation adopted by the right hon. gentleman was practically to capitalize against Great Britain that large expenditure. This was unfair, because it credited Ireland with an exceptional expenditure which would cease.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 361; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 77.)

The fact that the Income Tax upon trades and manufactures did not produce as much in proportion in Ireland as it did in this country was due to the fact that there was a much larger proportion of the population of this country engaged in manufactures than was the case in Ireland. In working out this subject of the Income Tax he had alighted upon the curious fact that whereas in

England the value of land assessed to the Income Tax under Schedule B had fallen between 1880 and 1891 from £51,000,000 to £41,000,000, and in Scotland from £8,770,000 to £6,300,000, in Ireland it had only fallen from £9,980,000 to £9,410,000. That fact showed that there had not been that large diminution of profit from that source in Ireland that there had been in Great Britain, and that the impression that Ireland was worse off now than she was in 1880 was not well-founded. The Post Office Savings Banks' returns showed that the deposits in the Irish Post Office Savings Banks had risen from £1,500,000 in 1880 to £3,900,000 in 1891.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 366; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 78).

Mr. RENTOUL said:—

“With reference to the relative cost of the police in England Scotland, and Ireland, referred to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a pertinent question was—To what part of Ireland was the heavy cost of the police to be attributed? He found that while there was one policeman for each 635 persons in England, in county Down there was one for every 1,052 persons only, and in Antrim one for every 1,003 persons. It was clear, therefore, that if the police cost 6s. 10d. per head in Ireland, as compared with 2s. 10d. in England, it was not in the Unionist counties, but among the right hon. gentleman's own friends, in the places where the union of hearts throbbed strongest, that the cost of the Irish police was chiefly incurred.”—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 380; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 79.)

Mr. GOSCHEN said:—

“I will place what I consider to be the real facts of the case before the Committee in a few sentences. According to the last return which they placed before the Committee, the Government put the Imperial expenditure at £62,900,000. The chief point in dispute with regard to the next figure is as to the cost of collection. The President of the Local Government Board said, ‘You must take the exact amount paid in Ireland;’ but that which is paid in Ireland is no criterion, because there are many Irish charges which are paid in England. Nor am I prepared to say that you ought to deduct the whole from the Imperial expenditure. You ought to

look at the revenue contributed by each of the three parts of the United Kingdom, and then deduct from each of the three the corresponding cost of collection. (Hear, hear.) That is the only business-like way of proceeding." (Cheers.)—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 388; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 80-1.)

"The first balance-sheet showed a surplus of £500,000, but it was found that the excise revenue would give £300,000 less than had been calculated, and it was therefore necessary to revise the estimates—to start a new principle, and to adopt a new canon, that Ireland should pay what it pays now. That was not told us on the first reading. (Cheers.) It was only told us on the second reading of the new clause, which, after we have been over two months in Committee, is now presented to the House. (Cheers.) This £300,000 has to be made up, and the right hon. gentleman said, "We must give them £500,000 for the constabulary; then they will have the surplus that they want." (The Chancellor of the Exchequer:—We always proposed it.) Then, as now, you must have a surplus. The view of hon. members below the gangway is that unless you start them with a good round sum bankruptcy would be possible. You must, therefore, give them £500,000, and the constabulary offer, in the eyes of the Government, the best source of contribution that could be offered."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 389; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 81.)

"The idea is clearly this, that Ireland cannot do without this contribution. ("No.") Well, can Ireland do without it? I am not sure that Irish members are not perfectly right in maintaining that unless they have this £500,000 they will find great difficulty in making both ends meet. (Hear, hear.) That is a confession—I do not wish to introduce one word to jar on their susceptibilities—but that is a confession that Ireland is too poor. I do not say whether it is correct or incorrect. Well, if Ireland does not contribute the sum which the Government think it ought to contribute to the British Exchequer, then it might be able to stand alone."

Mr. CLANCY: "If you keep your hands out of our pockets we can stand alone. (Cheers.)"

Mr. GOSCHEN: "A charming confession! If we keep our hands out of your pockets then you can manage to run alone. Very well. The Government do not intend to keep their hands out of your pockets. I see a very great danger in that remark, for if the hon. gentleman holds that the Government put their hands too deep into Irishmen's pockets now, what prospect is there of a friendly settlement six years hence?"—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 394-5; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 82.)

"It has been proved that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) does not eliminate that danger (Irish distress), and if the same sort of famine and danger which occurred in 1889 and 1890 were to recur under Home Rule, I do not feel at all certain that Ireland would not be compelled to appeal once more to the British Exchequer, and if such an appeal were made it would be met."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 398; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 83.)

"Now, the view taken by the members from Ireland is that Ireland is immensely over-taxed at the present time. They hold that that over-taxation dates back to the Union. I have heard the theory put forward that they have been over-taxed in the whole to the extent of £300,000,000 sterling. The first error in that is that when they speak of contribution they never deduct from it any excess contribution made by this country to Ireland. (Cheers.) But what is more important is to consider not only the gross but the net revenue, and hon. members will have to deduct from the enormous sum, which they say Ireland has paid too much, what they have received in excess of the proportion due to them as compared with England and Scotland, and also the amounts collected in Ireland as taxes paid by the English consumer. Is the great-grandson of the British taxpayer of the first part of the century now to repay to the great-grandson of the Irish taxpayer any sum over-paid by Ireland? I think that would be fantastic finance. But see the danger that lurks in the idea. It is this—that from the time of the Union England and Ireland have not been one nation. Let the Committee mark. The statement is, "The Irish contribution at present is no less than 8 per cent.," but we have been elaborately assured to-night by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that Ireland's contribution

is to be precisely what she has been paying. My right hon. friend the Prime Minister says, "they have paid 8 per cent., and we propose to fix their contribution at a little over 4 per cent. To continue their present contribution would be a prolongation of injustice." What dangerous language for a Prime Minister to use, to hold that it would be a prolongation of injustice, whereas his own Chancellor of the Exchequer states that the precise contribution is to be prolonged, and to be prolonged because it is at present being paid. (Cheers.) But my right hon. friend says, "I am sorry to say it is an injustice, and its continuance will be an injustice." Dangerous words for a Prime Minister to use. If Ireland pay too much, I ask the attention of the Committee to this point--if they pay too much, Why do they pay too much? When did they begin to pay too much? Under what system of taxation did they pay too much?"

Colonel NOLAN: "When you raised the whisky tax."

Mr. GOSCHEN: "Precisely. When we raised the whisky tax in 1853, and when we extended the income-tax to Ireland for the first time. The first effective step was taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1853. Who was he? He was the present Prime Minister."

Mr. GLADSTONE: "As my right hon. friend has mentioned that, he ought to have mentioned the enormous pecuniary remission that was made at that time."

Mr. GOSCHEN: "I am going to mention that. What was my right hon. friend's defence of the spirit duties?"

Mr. GLADSTONE: "I made no defence."

Mr. GOSCHEN: "The defence you made in 1853."

Mr. GLADSTONE: "I made no defence."

Mr. GOSCHEN: "Your justification. In 1853 the right hon. gentleman increased the spirit duties. He was violently attacked by the Irish members of that day. One of the Irish members said then that the right hon. gentleman in reply had made one of the

jauntiest speeches ever made by a Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and it was said that he made sneers and insinuations against the Irish members which they did not deserve." (Laughter.)—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 400-3 ; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 84-5.)

After ten and a half hours' debate

The Committee divided on the Second Reading of the Clause.

For the Second Reading	...	...	...	226
Against the Second Reading	...	...	...	191
Majority				35

(Division List No. 296.) (July 24.)

Mr. J. REDMOND moved the omission of the first sub-section in order to raise a clear issue. Clause X. as it originally stood gave the Irish Legislature control, collection, and management of the taxes in Ireland immediately, with the exception of the customs.

Mr. GLADSTONE said he was not able to assent to the statement that the amendment raised a clear issue. If the amendment was carried the omission of the sub-section would leave things exactly as they were, that was to say, the collection and management of the revenue would be in the hands of the Imperial authorities, and therefore the hon. member would of course require to proceed by further provisions in order to attain his end.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 492-3 ; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 94.)

Mr. A. BALFOUR said "the Bill, as he understood it, contemplated that the whole of the Royal Irish Constabulary should be withdrawn as soon as the new Irish Legislature sent a certificate to the Lord-Lieutenant that local police in any county had been provided. It was not, he presumed, intended by the Government to intrust to such local police the whole responsibility of protecting the Imperial revenue, and yet they would apparently

deprive themselves, or they might find that they had deprived themselves, by this Bill of the existing machinery for that purpose."

Mr. GLADSTONE quite admitted that the question raised by the right hon. gentleman in respect of the collection of the Imperial revenue by the local police was one which might require some consideration, but it was not an imminent or pressing question at the present time.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 494-5; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 95.)

Col. SAUNDERSON said "if the Prime Minister had looked at the amendment paper he would have seen a later amendment providing that the tribute was to be paid only when the the surplus in the Irish Exchequer was not less than £500,000. This proposal was an old friend. The Irish landlords had been dealt with in the same way. The tenant was told to pay first the shopkeeper, then his dues, then to retain sufficient to enjoy life, and, having fulfilled all those duties, to pay what was left to the landlords, if he wished."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 497; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 96.)

Mr. CLANCY said "if a deficit occurred, the Irish Government would have no power to make it up; for the Minister who proposed a new tax in Ireland during the next 10 or 20 years would be a very bold man."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 499; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 96.)

Mr. BALFOUR said "his own view was that they were trying an impossible experiment, and for his part he wished to see it tried, if at all, on the smallest scale possible. The scheme was an impossible one, but they were met by these antagonistic impossibilities on every clause of the Bill. They had always got to consider on every proposal of the Government whether the impossibility on the right was or was not worse than the impossibility on the left."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 507; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 97.)

Mr. SEXTON said "he could only countenance the withholding of the power of collecting the taxes from the Irish Legislature as a provisional arrangement. There was, however, some financial gain to the Irish Parliament in allowing the power of collecting the revenue to remain in the Imperial Parliament for six years—again

which he estimated at £25,000 a year.”—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 508-13; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 97-8.)

Mr. CARSON said “according to the Clause Ireland would continue to pay to the Imperial Parliament taxes which Mr. Gladstone had described as shabby and unjust.”—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 527; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 100).

After about five hours’ discussion

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	53
Against the Amendment	...	...	..	249
				Majority ... 196

(Division List No. 240.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN moved—line 1—to leave out the words:—

“The transfer hereinafter mentioned” in order to insert the words “Parliament otherwise determines.”

He argued that the Bill brought no finality, but left everything open by the adoption of this transitional period; Mr. Gladstone had spoken of this Bill bringing about a permanent and continuous settlement.

Mr. GLADSTONE: “A continuing settlement.”

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked whether hon. members saw any difference.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 535-7; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 101-2).

Mr. GLADSTONE in reply, spoke of "the Devil's advocate." What were the questions not settled? He granted there was the Land Question.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: "An obligation of honour."

Mr. GLADSTONE: "Yes, an obligation of honour with respect to facts and circumstances that were then existing, and expressly stated by him, as his right hon. friend must know to be an obligation to these temporary facts and circumstances."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 539; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 103.)

"Now, what was settled by the Bill? It was settled by the Bill that Ireland should make her own laws. It was settled that Ireland should have two Chambers of Legislature. He wanted to know whether fixing the legislative body was or was not a capital and fundamental portion of any scheme of government for Ireland. They had settled the Executive, the relations between the Executive and the legislative body. (Voices—The Gag.) They had absolutely settled the judiciary. ("Oh.") (Lord R. Churchill.—"All by the closure.") The police had been absolutely fixed. In naming these branches had he not named all the most important branches of a scheme for the government of Ireland with the exception of finance? And with respect to that exception, his right hon. friend had himself said that the most important parts were fixed. In this instance his right hon. friend exhibited, as he did in others, his practice of gross, habitual, and enormous exaggeration."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 540; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 103.)

Mr. A. BALFOUR having dealt with the settlement of matters by the "gag," said, "there remained the vital question of the Irish members in this House. Was that settled? He appealed to the Government themselves on that point. Clause IX., dealing with them, began with the words 'unless and until Parliament otherwise determines.' The Prime Minister himself had said, when similar words were proffered as an amendment to

another clause by the right hon. member for West Birmingham, that their insertion would be a conclusive proof that the clause was a temporary and short-lived one."

Mr. GLADSTONE explained that the words referred to were introduced to show that the 9th Clause was no part of the honourable compact between Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. BALFOUR said that the meaning of the words of an Act did not depend upon the intention of those who inserted them, but on the words themselves.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 547; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 105.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said he did not know whether hon. members opposite had refused just now to make themselves parties to the statement of his right hon. friend because they knew what it would involve, but if he himself were guilty of gross, habitual and enormous exaggeration, what was to be said of the hon. member for North Kerry? That hon. member said in the debate on Clause IX.:—"The whole Bill, in fact, had been made transitional and almost experimental in its character, by reason of the provisions deferring the power of the Irish Government for a given period of years in regard to judicial appointments, the land question, and certain financial topics, and therefore it would be in accord with the general character of the Bill that the words should be allowed to stand"—that was to say the question of the retention of the Irish members should be made transitional also. What the hon. member for North Kerry said, and what he himself said, was, that all these points which were questioned in the country and upon which the Unionists had vainly endeavoured to get any information from the Government beforehand had been left in a transitional condition. To them might be added also the question of the police, for the whole position of that force was to be altered after the period of six years.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 561; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 108.)

There was no reply to Mr. Chamberlain, and after Sir John Lubbock had spoken, although Mr. A. Balfour rose, Mr. Morley moved the closure. There was some excitement occasioned by this, and Mr. Morley said he had not seen the right hon. gentleman rise.

Mr. A. BALFOUR and Mr. FOWLER having spoken,

Mr. GOSCHEN elicited from Mr. Fowler the statement that the question of how much Ireland should pay to Imperial Expenditure ought not to be delegated to a commission.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 569; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 110.)

After some three hours' discussion,

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment	...	...	...	166
Against the Amendment	...	...	...	226
			Majority	60

(Division List No. 241.)

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK moved to omit sub-sections 2, 3, 4 and 5.

He pointed out that, as regards Irish complaints, there were poor in England as well as in Ireland. Official returns showed that in case of both Tobacco and Tea, the consumption in Ireland was quite equal to that in Great Britain as a matter of average. Then as regards police Ireland, with a population of 4,700,000, had a charge of £1,500,000; London with 5,000,000 people had a charge of £1,811,000. As regarded Education in England last year over £2,000,000 were raised from local sources without counting school-pence, which amounted to £2,000,000 more; whereby in Ireland the whole expense was borne by the Imperial Exchequer.

On the whole the expense of Government was by no means great as compared with other countries. The revenue raised in Ireland with a population of 4,700,000 was given in Parliamentary Return 334 of the present Session at £7,360,000. Now, if they looked at other countries that was by no means a heavy amount. Holland, with a smaller population, 4,500,000, paid over

£10,000,000; Belgium, with a population of 6,000,000, paid £12,000,000. Under this Bill Ireland was to contribute £1,550,000 for the service of debt, for military and naval expenditure, for diplomatic, and all other joint expenditure. Holland, for military expenditure alone, paid £3,000,000, and Belgium £2,000,000. The revenue raised in Ireland was given in the last return (July 14) at £7,400,000, or £1 7s. 6d. per head. Now the annual expenditure of Belgium was £2 5s., of Holland £2 10s., of France £3 5s. 6d., of Italy £2 1s., of Denmark £2 2s., of Spain £1 18s., of Greece £1 16s., of Hungary £1 19s., and of the United States £2 7s. Even in their own case—the case of Great Britain, which he wondered did not occur to the right hon. gentleman—it was £2 10s. (Hear, hear.) Nobody who looked at the figures could doubt for a moment that, if during the last century Ireland had been an independent country, her taxation would have been far heavier than had been the case.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 573-4; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 111.)

Mr. BRODRICK, dealing with question of Excise, said: “The Government proposal meant that Irishmen who all round paid 13s. per head to Excise should pay 2s. 7d. to Imperial charges, while Englishmen who paid 15s. to Excise should pay 10s. to Imperial charges. In Denmark every man contributed 6s. 1d. towards the national defences; in Switzerland every man paid 8s. 9d. towards those defences; but under the proposal of the Government every man in Ireland would only pay 3s. 6d., while in Great Britain every man would pay 19s. 9d. Under these circumstances he thought that to give this surplus of £500,000 to Ireland without retaining any hold over the Irish expenditure was a gross injustice to the working men of this country.”—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 581; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 112.)

Col. NOLAN contended that dividing the amount by population Ireland paid 10s. per head instead of 3s. 6d.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 583; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 112.)

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE said:—“The position of Ireland differed from smaller European powers because not one was secure against invasion by a great power, whereas Ireland was defended. All other nations had to pay one-half of their taxation away for

defence and national obligations, but here England had to pay two-thirds.”—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 586; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 113.)

After two and a half hours' debate

The Committee divided—

For the Amendment ...	...	...	...	205
Against the Amendment ...	...	...	...	252
Majority ...				47

(Division List No. 242.)

A discussion took place with regard to composition and scope of Committee to decide on matters of General Revenue in future, as between Ireland and Great Britain under Bill.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 671-85; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 123.)

Mr. CLANCY moved to add to the beginning of the fourth sub-section the words:—

“Whenever the surplus available for the Irish Government amounts to not less than £500,000.”

He explained that his object was to guarantee a surplus to the Irish Government of £500,000. It was said that this was a part of the doctrines of the Land League, but this would not be the first time during the past ten or twelve years that Parliament had been engaged in passing into law the programme of the original Land League. The mistakes which had already been made as to the financial scheme under Home Rule led him to be suspicious of all returns, and he would be slow to embark on the task of working a scheme of self-government without being certain whether he would have a surplus or a deficit in the first year of administration.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 685; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 126.)

Mr. GLADSTONE said :—"Upon the paper, according to the estimates that had been framed, the Government showed a surplus of £500,000, which, if the estimates were realized, would be to the credit of Ireland when she took her portion. That was the whole meaning of the surplus. There was no such thing as a surplus earmarked, and there was no such thing legally as a surplus of £500,000. As he understood it, the real meaning and aim of this Amendment was that, whenever in the balance-sheet of Ireland between revenue and expenditure there was a surplus of less than £500,000, then the Imperial contribution was to be reduced by one-fourth. (A Voice:—No; it was to be reduced to nothing.) Perhaps the hon. member would kindly explain."

Mr. J. REDMOND explained that, supposing in some years the surplus of Ireland should be £490,000 instead of £500,000, the effect of the amendment in that case would be that the Imperial contribution of Ireland would be diminished by £5,000.

Mr. GLADSTONE replied that his objection remained in full.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 693; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 125.)

Mr. COLLINGS said :—"The member for North Dublin had said that by the Act of Union the Irish people were robbed; but, whether that were so or not, it was abundantly clear that by this Bill the people of Great Britain were to be robbed. The hon. member challenged the statement that a burden would be imposed upon the British taxpayer. That, however, was the fact; and every hon. member for Great Britain would be able to go to his constituency and tell them that the cost of the present proposal to them would be £4,000 a year. That was the average for each constituency. For the City of Birmingham, however, the cost would be £32,000 a year, which was equivalent to a 4d. rate. That city would have to pay £32,000 as its contribution towards carrying out the scheme of the Government."—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 700; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 127.)

Mr. SEXTON denied this, and dealt with all the figures in detail.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 707-17; T.D., vol. xxv., p. 128.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in a final speech, said that their con-

tention was that Ireland was being asked to pay £1,800,000 less than she ought, and on that issue they intended to go to their constituents. Interrupted by Mr. Roby with the remark, "Under the circumstances" apropos of the Bill being regarded as satisfactory by the Ministerialists, the right hon. gentleman punctuated each sentence afterwards with the quotation. The reference to "Herod" and cries of "Judas" were succeeded by the scene of riot which is now a matter of history.

At ten o'clock the "Gag" was applied,

The Committee divided—

For the First Financial Clause	...	...	...	321
Against the First Financial Clause	...	...	...	288
				<hr/>
Majority	...	...	...	33

(Division List No. 244)

Another division was taken on the next Clause, the remainder being "agreed to."

The postponed Clauses, xiv., xv., xvi. were then added to the Bill without discussion, as also the entire Schedules with the exception of No. 5 and the Preamble.—(P.D., vol. xv., p. 734-5; T.D. vol. xxv., p. 134; Division Lists No. 245-251.)—(July 27th.)

THE DIVISIONS ON THE HOME RULE BILL.

BRITISH MAJORITIES AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE'S SCHEME.

DIVISION.	Government Vote.			Opposition Vote.			British majority against Government.
	British.	Irish.	Total.	British.	Irish.	Total.	
April 21.—Second reading. Sir M. H. Beach's amendment ...	268	79	347	282	22	304	14
May 8.—Committee. Closure ...	171	72	243	175	20	195	4
May 8.—Committee. To report progress	233	74	307	244	21	265	11
May 8.—Committee. That Chairman leave chair	231	73	304	235	22	257	4
May 9.—Clause 1. Mr. Bartley's amendment	217	75	292	235	22	257	18
May 10.—Clause 1. Mr. T. W. Russell's amendment	221	74	295	228	16	244	7
May 11.—Clause 1. To report progress, &c.	230	74	304	239	21	260	9
May 12.—Clause 1. Closure ...	232	76	308	241	19	260	9
May 12.—Clause 1. That Clause 1 stand part of Bill	235	74	309	246	21	267	11
May 15.—Clause 2. Mr. Caven- dish's amendment, Clause 2 ...	203	72	275	208	20	228	5
May 15.—Clause 2. Mr. A. Cross's amendment	223	73	296	229	22	251	6
May 16.—Clause 2. Mr. G. Lawson's amendment	193	72	265	195	20	215	2
May 30.—Amendment. That Clause 3 be postponed	205	68	273	222	18	240	17
May 30.—Clause 3. Viscount Wolmer's amendment	190	69	259	219	19	238	29
May 31.—Clause 3. General Goldsworthy's amendment ...	196	69	265	202	17	219	6
May 31.—Clause 3. Sir A. Scoble's amendment	206	70	276	218	19	237	12
May 31.—Clause 3. Mr. P. Smith's amendment	207	71	278	216	18	234	9
June 2.—Clause 3. Mr. Byrne's amendment	213	70	283	226	19	245	13
June 2.—Clause 3. Lieut.-Col. Lockwood's amendment	220	74	294	234	20	254	14
June 2.—Clause 3. Mr. W. Brodrick's amendment	215	74	289	230	19	249	15
June 5.—Clause 3. Admiral Field's amendment	223	74	297	238	22	260	15
June 5.—Clause 3. Closure ...	176	76	252	197	20	217	21

BRITISH MAJORITIES AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE'S SCHEME.—*Continued.*

DIVISION.	Government Vote.			Opposition Vote.			British majority against Government.
	British.	Irish.	Total.	British.	Irish.	Total.	
June 5.—Clause 3. Mr. Tomlinson's amendment	175	76	251	194	20	214	19
June 5.—Clause 3. Mr. G. Balfour's amendment	218	73	291	233	22	255	15
June 6.—Clause 3. Closure ...	233	73	306	253	21	274	20
June 6.—Clause 3. Mr. Butcher's amendment	242	75	317	255	21	276	13
June 6.—Clause 3. Sir H. James's amendment	229	75	304	233	22	255	4
June 6.—Clause 3. Mr. S. Wortley's amendment	166	76	242	171	21	192	5
June 6.—Clause 3. Mr. D. Barton's amendment	217	76	293	230	23	253	13
June 6.—Clause 3. Mr. Carson's amendment	206	76	282	224	22	246	18
June 7.—Clause 3. Mr. J. G. Lawson's amendment	215	73	288	220	22	242	5
June 7.—Clause 3. Closure ...	224	69	293	235	21	256	11
June 8.—Clause 3. Closure ...	213	75	288	235	21	256	22
June 8.—Clause 3. Mr. Bartley's amendment	214	74	288	232	20	252	18
June 8.—Clause 3. Closure ...	157	75	232	170	17	187	13
June 8.—Clause 3. Sir T. Lea's amendment	186	73	259	198	16	214	12
June 9.—Clause 3. Mr. Whiteley's amendment	223	75	298	246	22	268	23
June 12.—Clause 3. Sir J. Lubbock's amendment	211	72	283	234	20	254	23
June 12.—Clause 3. Mr. P. Smith's amendment	189	70	259	203	20	223	14
June 12.—Clause 3. Sir F. Powell's amendment	200	70	270	216	20	236	16
June 12.—Clause 3. Mr. G. Balfour's amendment	193	71	264	211	20	231	18
June 12.—Clause 3. Mr. H. Foster's amendment	179	69	248	192	19	211	13
June 13.—Clause 4. Mr. H. Foster's amendment	200	69	269	215	19	234	15
June 13.—Clause 4. Sir H. James's amendment	116	71	187	127	16	143	11
June 13.—Clause 4. Mr. Boscawen's amendment	198	71	269	214	19	233	16
June 14.—Clause 4. Mr. Rentoul's amendment	193	73	266	209	19	228	16
June 14.—Clause 4. Mr. G. Balfour's amendment	193	73	266	212	19	231	19
June 14.—Clause 4. Mr. G. Balfour's 2nd amendment	207	74	281	220	19	239	13
June 14.—Clause 4. Closure ...	206	74	280	223	18	241	17
June 15.—Clause 4. Closure ...	194	74	268	217	18	235	23
June 15.—Clause 4. Mr. Mowbray's amendment	176	73	249	191	17	208	15

BRITISH MAJORITIES AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE'S SCHEME.—*Continued.*

DIVISION.	Government Vote.			Opposition Vote.			British majority against Government.
	British.	Irish.	Total.	British.	Irish.	Total.	
June 15.—Clause 4. Mr. Wyndham's amendment	190	73	263	211	20	231	21
June 16.—Clause 4. Major Darwin's amendment	187	71	258	200	20	220	13
June 16.—Clause 4. Mr. H. Plunkett's amendment	184	69	253	191	20	211	7
June 19.—Clause 4. Mr. Bolton's amendment	214	70	284	230	20	250	16
June 19.—Clause 4. Mr. H. Hobhouse's amendment	221	69	290	237	21	258	16
June 19.—Clause 4. Mr. Carson's amendment	133	68	201	147	17	164	14
June 19.—Clause 4. Mr. Rentoul's amendment	201	69	270	221	20	241	20
June 20.—Clause 4. Viscount Wolmer's amendment	198	72	270	221	19	240	23
June 20.—Clause 4. Viscount Wolmer's amendment	188	72	260	204	19	223	16
June 20.—Clause 4. Closure	199	73	272	218	19	237	19
June 20.—Clause 4. Mr. Brodrick's amendment	198	72	270	219	19	238	21
June 21.—Clause 4. Mr. D. Plunkett's amendment	211	73	284	221	21	242	10
June 21.—Clause 4. Mr. Rentoul's amendment	206	73	279	218	20	238	12
June 22.—Clause 4. Mr. Wolff's amendment	230	72	302	235	19	254	5
June 22.—Clause 4. Mr. D. Plunkett's amendment	234	73	307	241	20	261	7
June 22.—Clause 4. Mr. Cochran's amendment	189	71	260	199	19	218	10
June 22.—Clause 4. Closure	207	70	277	223	20	243	16
June 22.—Clause 4. Mr. Cochran's amendment	206	72	278	223	20	243	17
June 23.—Clause 4. Mr. P. Smith's amendment	201	71	272	212	18	230	11
June 28.—Clause 5. Mr. Hanbury's amendment	197	63	260	210	21	231	13
June 28.—Clause 5. Mr. Hanbury's 2nd amendment	212	68	280	228	21	249	16
June 29.—Mr. Gladstone's Suspension of 12 o'clock Rule	230	72	302	250	21	271	20
June 29.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Mr. Chaplain's motion	236	72	308	258	21	279	22
June 29.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Mr. Russell's amendment	233	73	306	259	20	279	26
June 29.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Baron Rothschild's motion	211	72	283	236	21	257	25

BRITISH MAJORITIES AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE'S SCHEME.—Continued.

DIVISION.	Government Vote.			Opposition Vote.			British majority against Government.
	British.	Irish.	Total.	British.	Irish.	Total.	
June 29.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Lord Cranborne's motion	197	73	270	221	21	242	24
June 30.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Mr. Byrne's amendment	204	64	268	223	20	243	19
June 30.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Lord Wolmer's amendment	230	72	302	248	20	268	18
June 30.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Mr. Hayes Fisher's amendment	227	71	298	244	20	264	17
June 30.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Mr. Curzon's amendment	228	72	300	246	20	266	18
June 30.—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Proposal. Main question ...	228	71	299	247	20	267	19
July 3.—Clause 5. Lord Wolmer's amendment	157	73	230	176	20	196	19
July 3.—Clause 5. Mr. Brodrick's amendment	201	73	274	226	21	247	25
July 4.—Clause 5. Mr. Arnold-Forster's amendment	218	75	293	235	21	256	17
July 4.—Clause 5. Mr. Fisher's amendment	208	75	283	227	21	248	19
July 4.—Clause 5. Sir H. James's amendment	114	73	187	122	20	142	8
July 4.—Clause 5. Captain Naylor-Leyland's amendment	140	75	215	147	20	167	7
July 4.—Clause 5. Sir H. James's 2nd amendment	190	72	262	209	20	229	19
July 5.—Clause 5. Mr. T. H. Bolton's amendment	199	75	274	213	16	229	14
July 5.—Clause 5. Closure	185	76	261	202	17	219	17
July 6.—Clause 5. Lord Wolmer's amendment	213	77	290	227	21	248	14
July 6.—Clause 5. Lord Cranborne's amendment... ..	154	77	231	167	18	185	13
July 6.—Clause 5. The Procedure Closure	250	74	324	264	22	286	14
July 6.—Clause 5 as amended be part of Bill	249	75	324	268	21	289	19
July 6.—Clause 6 stand part of Bill	239	76	315	278	22	300	39
July 6.—Clause 7 stand part of Bill	249	76	325	267	22	289	18
July 6.—Clause 8 stand part of Bill	247	76	323	269	22	291	22
July 10.—Clause 9. Mr. Redmond's amendment	213	67	280	244	22	266	31
July 10.—Clause 9. Closure	168	73	241	194	17	211	26
July 10.—Clause 9. Mr. Heneage's amendment	166	74	240	193	16	209	27
July 11.—Clause 9. Sir C. Dilke's amendment	140	72	212	168	14	182	28

BRITISH MAJORITIES AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE'S SCHEME.—*Continued.*

DIVISION.	Government Vote.			Opposition Vote.			British majority against Government.
	British.	Irish.	Total.	British.	Irish.	Total.	
July 11.—Clause 9. Mr. Seton-Karr's amendment	180	71	251	202	16	218	22
July 11.—Clause 9. Mr. Rentoul's amendment	184	71	255	211	15	226	27
July 12.—Clause 9. Mr. P. Smith's amendment	210	70	280	230	18	248	20
July 13.—Clause 9. Mr. Gladstone's amendment	247	78	325	280	18	298	33
July 13.—Clause 9 stand part of Bill	249	77	326	281	16	297	32
July 13.—Clause 18 stand part of Bill	250	78	328	276	18	294	26
July 13.—Clause 19 stand part of Bill	247	78	325	273	18	291	26
July 13.—Clause 22 stand part of Bill	241	78	319	268	18	286	27
July 13.—Clause 23 stand part of Bill	236	78	314	262	18	280	26
July 13.—Clause 24 stand part of Bill	223	77	300	247	18	265	24
July 13.—Clause 25 stand part of Bill	213	77	290	244	18	262	31
July 13.—Clause 26 stand part of Bill	214	76	290	239	17	256	25
July 17.—Clause 27. Mr. Morley's amendment	126	68	194	128	14	142	2
July 17.—Clause 27. Mr. Seton-Karr's amendment	174	72	246	186	15	201	12
July 18.—Clause 27. Mr. Balfour's amendment	170	71	241	184	15	199	14
July 20.—Clause 30. Mr. T. H. Bolton's amendment	206	72	278	229	17	246	23
July 20.—Clause 30 stand part of Bill	246	69	315	270	19	289	24
July 20.—Clause 31 stand part of Bill	247	74	321	268	19	287	21
July 20.—Clause 32 stand part of Bill	239	76	315	262	19	281	23
July 20.—Clause 33 stand part of Bill	239	75	314	261	18	279	22
July 20.—Clause 36 stand part of Bill	225	77	302	249	19	268	24
July 20.—Clause 38 stand part of Bill	219	76	295	242	19	261	23
July 24.—Second Reading of Mr. Gladstone's Financial Clauses. First Clause	153	73	226	177	14	191	24
July 26.—To leave out Sub-sections 2, 3, 4, 5, Sir J. Lubbock ...	179	73	252	187	18	205	8
July 27.—Financial Clause as amended stand part of Bill ...	243	69	312	270	21	291	27

BRITISH MAJORITIES AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE'S SCHEME—*Continued.*

DIVISION.	Government Vote.			Opposition Vote.			British majority against Government.
	British.	Irish.	Total.	British.	Irish.	Total.	
July 27.—Clause as to Irish Consolidated Fund to be added to Bill	244	77	321	268	20	288	24
July 27.—Postponed Clause 15 be part of Bill	249	77	316	262	21	283	13
July 27.—Postponed Clause 16 be part of Bill	236	77	313	260	20	280	24
July 27.—Schedule 1 be part of Bill	233	77	310	256	21	277	23
July 27.—Schedule 2 be part of Bill	222	68	290	251	22	273	29
July 27.—Schedule 7 be part of Bill	222	77	299	248	20	268	26
July 27.—New schedule be part of Bill	217	76	293	242	21	263	25
July 27.—Preamble to be part of Bill	215	76	291	240	21	261	25

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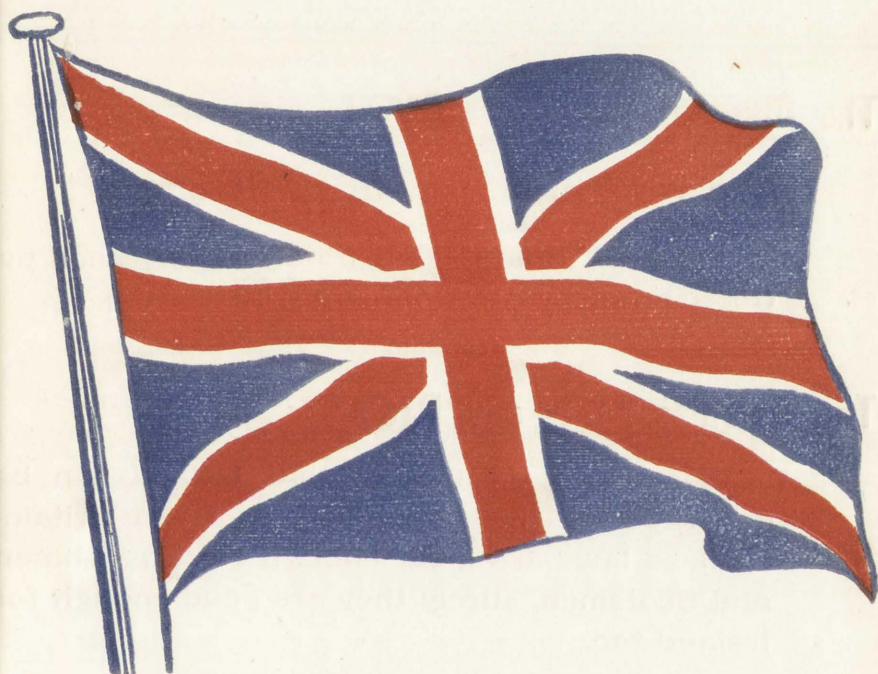
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Shall Ireland
have
Home Rule?

GLADSTONIAN REASONS EXAMINED.

SHALL IRELAND H

The Gladstonians say **YES!**

And for Three Principal Reasons :—

I.—Because Ireland can only be governed by Coercion or by a Parliament of her own ;

To which

The Unionist Party say **NO!**

Because it is certain that Ireland can be governed by the same laws as Great Britain. If these laws are good enough for Englishmen and Scotsmen, surely they are good enough for Ireland too.

II.—Because 80 out of 103 of Ireland's representatives demand a separate Parliament in Dublin ;

To which

The Unionist Party say **NO!**

Because we cannot yield to these demands of theirs on the ground of a mere local majority. The 80 Members unanimously demand the release of dynamitards and criminal conspirators ! We must therefore consider the wisdom of each demand of a local majority.

Because many of these same representatives and their leaders have been rightly described by Mr. Gladstone as "steeped to the lips in treason."

VE HOME RULE ?

Because the loyalists of Ireland, to the number of nearly two millions, decline to put themselves, their property, and their civil and religious liberty at the mercy of these Irish Members of Parliament, who have no property of their own, but expect to gain big salaries under Home Rule, if they can get it passed.

III.—Because the demand for Home Rule blocks the way to English and Scottish Reforms ;

To which

The Unionist Party say NO !

Because under Home Rule Ireland will doubly block the way. How can it be otherwise, when by this Home Rule Bill Irish Members are retained in the Imperial House of Commons ; and the Bill also provides an Irish House of Commons as something to fight about ?

Because the Protestants and Nonconformists of Ireland cry out as one man to Englishmen to save them from the tyranny of Priests and Bishops, whom this Home Rule Bill would set up as their masters.

Because every Irishman who has anything to lose, any property or any money, is strongly opposed to this measure.

Because all who have money or property will leave the country. Labour must follow capital, and England will be flooded with pauper Irishmen looking for work; and wages, already too low, will be still further reduced.

Because England herself showed at the last Election by sending a majority of over 70 representatives against Home Rule, that she, the chief party in the compact between the two peoples, refuse to sanction this Great Betrayal of her interests, which Mr. Gladstone is bound to bring forward in order to satisfy those whose votes keep him in office. He is between two stools. If he did not bring Home Rule forward eighty Irishmen would drive him out of office. He has brought it forward, and will remain in office until the people of England again record their votes, when they will assuredly refuse to recognise this great surrender, and will uphold the Glory, Honour and Unity of the great British Empire.

WILL YOU NOT VOTE FOR THE UNION?

CANADIAN HOME RULE.

1. There is no analogy between Mr. Gladstone's Irish proposals and the situation in Canada. Neither in 1839, when Lord Durham, according to the Irish Nationalist theory, gave peace to Canada, nor in 1867, when the "Dominion" was created by the British North America Act, was there any policy of disruption. On the contrary, both in 1839 and in 1867, the policy was one of consolidation. Lord Durham united the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and the British North America Act united under a Federal Union five autonomous provinces, viz., Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island. There was no great act of disruption, such as Mr. Gladstone proposes, in all this.

2. The Dominion Government retains the appointment and control of the Judiciary in its own hands. This applies to the whole Dominion, and is at variance with the Irish claim on this head.

Under the British North America Act the protection accorded to minorities is very complete. In the first place, should the Dominion Parliament, or any Provincial Legislature, pass a measure that is at variance with the Constitution, or is otherwise in excess of their powers, there is—

- (a.) An appeal to the Supreme Court.
- (b.) An appeal from the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, and
- (c.) In the case of any minority feeling aggrieved in any of the provinces on account of any legislation, there is an appeal to the Dominion Government and Parliament.

This latter right is now being exercised by the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba who feel aggrieved at the withdrawal of State aid from denominational or separate schools.

The Irish party in demanding a supreme Irish Parliament do not, therefore, proceed on Canadian lines.

3. In regard to the Veto of the Crown the position is rather obscure. So far as all legislation by the Dominion Parliament there is no obscurity. The right to veto, disallow, or alter the Acts of the Dominion Parliament rests with the Governor-General, acting on the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This, of course, is a direct veto.

As regards the Acts of the Provincial Legislatures, the same right was claimed by the Colonial Office by Lords Granville, Kimberley, and Carnarvon, successive Secretaries of State. It was resisted by the Dominion Government under the advice of Mr. Blake, who contended that the right of disallowance and veto rested with the Governor-General, advised by his Canadian Ministers. There has been much correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Dominion Government, but the question is still unsettled. It is clear that the claim of the Irish Party on the veto is founded upon the state of matters I have described.

4. The real analogy is to be found in Quebec. It is a little Ireland. The population is 1,500,000; the large majority being French agriculturists; the small minority—mainly in the Cities of Montreal and Quebec—being English and Scotchmen engaged in commerce. The wealth, the commerce, the education, are all in their hands. The Province has a Lieutenant-Governor, a House of Representatives, and a Senate—so it has Home Rule. The Roman Catholic Church is supreme at once as a Christian institute and a political machine. The cardinal, in his palace at Quebec, is the real Governor of the Province. Here we have both Ireland as it is and as it would be under Home Rule. The Province is in a lamentable state, corruption abounds in high places. It is the only one of the Provinces which has a debt. This rolls up and the Exchequer is empty. When fresh taxes have to be levied the French will not stand it, and the Government simply raid the commercial classes in Montreal. Lately they levied a special tax upon commercial companies, banks, &c., in order to raise funds to meet the deficiency under Mercier's government. The Englishers bear it and grin. They have no remedy. Education is practically in the hands of the Church, and it amounts, in the case of the peasantry, to little else than catechetical instruction. The peasantry are poor—in many places as poor as our western farmers. They are not loyal to England. They are loyal to the French flag; and, but for the

fact that the Church has privileges under British rule that it could not have under the American flag, they would vote for Annexation. The Province is a fine sample of what Home Rule and the Church can do for a people. The Church tithes the income of every Roman Catholic farmer, and levies a legal tax for Church building and other ecclesiastical purposes.

In the matter of the police, there are only two cities on the American Continent controlled by the Irish vote—Boston and New York.

In 1885, when the Irish first obtained control of the former city, and elected an Irish mayor, the American citizens went to the State Legislature and got the control of the police taken from the mayor, and vested in three commissioners appointed by the Governor of the State. The City of Boston, therefore—and because of the Irish vote—has no control over the police it pays for.

In New York, which is entirely in the hands of the Irish party, the City Government is everywhere recognised as the greatest scandal of the age. It is so corrupt that no American speaks of it without shame.

Apart from politicians, actively engaged in the game, I found little sympathy either in Canada or the States with the Irish demands. They believe theoretically in the right of self-government; but, with them, this means little more than that Local Government which the Irish Party decline to accept.

I addressed, during my visit, three Unionist meetings—at Toronto, Ottawa, and Boston, and was everywhere received with the greatest courtesy and kindness by leading men, from the Governor-General and Prime Minister down.

T. W. RUSSELL.

Ought I to join the Local Branch of the Irish Unionist Alliance?

Y E S.

BECAUSE it is the only organization that is steadily working—by public meetings, through the Press, by petitions to the House of Commons, &c., to inform the British public of the dangers of Home Rule, and it is with that section of the electors the decision must eventually rest.

But what harm would Home Rule do?

It would paralyse trade ; it would drive from the country the gentry, commercial men, and traders, who are all the largest employers of labour. It would lower wages ; and it would leave Ireland the poorest, instead of being an integral portion of the richest, country in the world.

How do I know this?

Because all who have anything to lose (whether Catholic or Protestant) have joined the movement against Home Rule. The country gentlemen, professional men, commercial men, merchants and manufacturers, as evidenced by the Chambers of Commerce, Grand Juries, &c.

*How should I be poorer as an inhabitant of Ireland
separated than of Ireland united to Great Britain?*

Because, without capital it is impossible for a country to progress or to have its resources developed ; and Ireland, especially in the three southern provinces, has so little capital of her own that she is mainly dependent for grants and loans from England. At present money can be obtained at a very low rate of interest from the Imperial Government for any important work, such as—purchase of land, drainage, buildings of all sorts, harbours, fisheries, &c. ; but if we had Home Rule grants would altogether cease, and loans, if obtainable at all, would be at an exorbitant rate of interest ; and, in addition, the taxes would be ruinously increased. Further, if the protection of Great Britain were withdrawn—according to the avowed intentions of the so-called Nationalist leaders—there would be no security for the lives, liberties, or property of the Loyal minority.

*But my either joining or not joining the Alliance can
make very little difference.*

It makes very great difference—

(1). Because “union is strength,” and it is only by all classes and creeds banding together, that we can show the number of Irishmen that are opposed to Mr. Gladstone’s ruinous scheme.

(2). Because it is not fair to leave others to fight the battle for us.

(3). Because the work the Alliance is doing costs a great deal of money, and every shilling is of importance.

But some will say, My income is so small that I cannot afford to contribute.

Why then will you run the risk of having your income greatly lessened, as it assuredly must be if Home Rule is carried ; and carried it will be unless we all unite in one great and well-sustained effort to avert it.

The Minimum Fee for Enrolment is the nominal sum of One Shilling.

Then join the Alliance. Do not content yourself with signing petitions, making protests, and speaking, but Act. Encourage the hearts and strengthen the hands of those who are at the front fighting the battle ; and if we stand together as one man we shall (D.V.) at no very distant date see the wreck of this iniquitous measure, the very shadow of which has caused such anxiety and foreboding, depressed trade, depreciated Irish securities, impeded progress, and driven capital out of the country.

Col. James M. Smith, U.S. Army, 1861-1862

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Things the Irish Unionist Alliance has done.

Since the First Reading of the Home Rule Bill of 1893 the Irish Unionist Alliance has

I. Organised Two Monster Unionist Demonstrations in Dublin.

II. Carried out in conjunction with the Ulster Convention League all the arrangements for a gigantic Demonstration of Irish Unionists in the Albert Hall, London.

III. Sent Deputations to every great commercial centre in England to influence public opinion against the Bill.

IV. Sent speakers to address 500 Meetings in different parts of Great Britain, besides providing for numerous meetings throughout Ireland.

V. Sent 170,000 Irish Unionist Newspapers to England.

VI. Forwarded 200,000 signatures to Petitions against the Bill. And

VII. Issued two million Leaflets

In Defence of the Legislative Union.

Such are the statistics (corrected up to May 10th) from the various departments of work. It should be noted that in addition to the above, new enterprises of great political importance, and entailing considerable expense, are already in progress, including the more complete organisation, by Branches and Clubs, of the Three Southern Provinces of Ireland, with a view to the Registration of every Unionist and the formation of an Elective Council. Meanwhile the ordinary routine work of the Central Office steadily increases.

Why Should I Join a Branch of the Irish Unionist Alliance?

BECAUSE in the struggle against Home Rule every man counts, and you weaken the Unionist cause if you do not work side by side with your fellow-Loyalists. Irish opposition to the Home Rule Bill has already produced an important change of public opinion in Great Britain. The resistance to the measure in Great Britain cannot be sustained if Irish Loyalists are silent and inactive. But our opposition to the Bill could never have been manifested in strength if Irish Unionists were not already partially organised. We now seek to extend and complete that organisation. Every group of Unionists in the country is a point of resistance, and lends support to those who are working at the centre. If those at the centre want information and guidance respecting any particular district they will know where to look for these. If they need help in their efforts at constitutional agitation they will know on whom they can rely. To weld the North and South of Ireland together is of the utmost importance to our cause, and will materially serve the interests of both North and South. The Unionists of the North, to direct and control their efforts against Home Rule, have decided to appoint a council on an electoral basis. In order that we may work with them in all legitimate efforts to defeat the Home Rule policy, it is necessary that the Council of the Irish Unionist

Alliance should also be placed on a complete electoral basis, so that it may be fully representative of Unionist opinion in the South and West. When Unionists have registered themselves in branches, and taken part in the election of a Council of the Irish Unionist Alliance, this object will have been attained. A network of branches all over the Southern provinces will be able to effect many things that could not otherwise be effected, and will serve for the purpose of mutual aid and protection, if such should be needed by any of their members. Unity is strength, and unity can be attained only by efficient organisation. To register yourself as a member of a branch is, therefore, a duty and with reference to the Unionist cause a duty of real importance.

TEN WAYS

In which Home Rule in Ireland would injuriously affect the Working Classes in England, Scotland, and Wales.



I.

There would be little or no employment for labour in Ireland, and the labourers would be driven to seek for it in England, Scotland, and Wales. The market would be overstocked, and **WAGES** consequently **LOWERED**. This would apply to all labour, including domestic service, as landlords and commercial employers would alike be ruined or obliged to leave Ireland.

II.

Not only would this influx of labour lower the wages of the British workingman, but it would also greatly increase the **VOTING POWER OF THE IRISH** in Great Britain, which is already of considerable weight, and under Home Rule might become, like the Irish Vote in America, one of the gravest obstacles to purity of government and to all progressive Reforms.

III.

Owing to the state of probable bankruptcy in Ireland, the large volume of **TRADE** between British and Irish ports would be **SERIOUSLY DIMINISHED**.

IV.

There would be no security for capitalists, and no guarantee for investments. Insurance Companies and Trusts, some of which are now largely involved in Irish mortgages, would suffer greatly—and the more so because all mortgagees are at present denounced by the “Nationalist Party” as natural enemies of the people—and the bankruptcy which would overtake perhaps many of these companies would cause **WIDESPREAD DISTRESS**.

V.

Bank of Ireland Shares, and shares in commercial enterprises in Ireland, fell considerably within a very few days after the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, and the **BRITISH MONEY MARKET** must eventually be affected in the same direction.

VI.

The Irish Members in Parliament might keep in office a Ministry which **COULD NOT** possibly **CARRY ANY LEGISLATION** for Great Britain; and similarly, they might expel from office a Ministry pledged to popular domestic measures, and supported by a large majority of the electorate of England, Scotland, and Wales.

VII.

The Working Classes would have to pay **HIGHER TAXES**, probably in the shape of increased prices for **TEA** and **TOBACCO**, to compensate the British Exchequer for the loss of the **TWENTY-SEVEN MILLIONS** which Mr. Gladstone hands over to Ireland.

VIII.

Workingmen would lose control over their own **HOURS OF LABOUR**, for the Dublin Parliament might pass what Factory Acts it liked for Ireland, and by competition force British factories to work as many hours per day as the Irish.

IX.

In the case of a **WAR**, should the "Nationalists" of Ireland **SIDE WITH THE ENEMY** (as *they did under a Home Rule Parliament in 1798*), hostile armies could be admitted into Irish ports, and thence menace the safety of the English, Scottish, and Welsh seaboard.

X.

We must contemplate the possibility of **CIVIL WAR** in Ireland resulting from Home Rule. Remember, Mr. Gladstone has declared it to be his "firm belief" that "were Ireland detached from her political connection with this country, and left to her own unaided agencies, it might be that *the strife of parties would then burst forth in a form calculated to strike horror through the land.*" Should this occur, the responsibility for such a calamity will rest on the Working Classes in Great Britain, who form the majority of the electors. British interference would be necessary. And thus you will be driven to the unhappy necessity of bearing arms against your own fellow-subjects and kinsmen in Ireland.

Petitions against Home Rule.

LEINSTER, MUNSTER AND CONNAUGHT.

It is commonly alleged by Gladstonians that the loyal minority in Ireland are all, or nearly all, resident in the Province of Ulster. This is grossly untrue.

You will see from the figures given below that 127,292 residents in the three Southern Provinces of Ireland have petitioned Parliament against the Home Rule Bill of 1893.

You will also see from the same statistics that Unionism in the three Southern Provinces is far stronger and more popular now than it was seven years ago; since it appears that five times as many people have signed Petitions against the Bill of 1893 as against the Bill of 1886.

	1893.	1886.		1893.	1886.
Carlow ...	2588	Nil.	Louth ...	2424	Nil.
Clare ...	1300	Nil.	Mayo ...	1828	Nil.
Cork ...	16437	11832	Meath ...	3043	1845
Dublin City			Queen's Co. ...	4362	Nil.
and County	45900	2246	Roscommon ...	1719	747
Galway ...	3391	Nil.	Sligo ...	4224	854
Kerry ...	2302	63	Tipperary ...	4518	1044
Kildare ...	3427	84	Waterford ...	2460	Nil.
Kilkenny ...	2165	572	Westmeath ...	2244	100
King's Co. ...	3066	458	Wexford ...	4818	
Leitrim ...	3859	105	Wicklow ...	6059	6515
Limerick ...	3421	50			
Longford ...	1737	248			
				127292	26763

BE SURE OF YOUR FACTS !

Here are a few Specimens of Gladstonian accuracy.

I.—MR. GLADSTONE

Made the following statement to the Deputation from Belfast Chamber of Commerce, March 28th, 1893—

“While the Civil Government of Ireland cost £1 per head, the Civil Government of Great Britain cost a little more than 10s.”—*Irish Times*, March 29th.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ?

That “the Civil expenditure of Great Britain is 19s. 2d. per head, and that of Ireland £1 4s.”—(Reply of Belfast Chamber of Commerce, *Irish Times*, April 12th.)

II.—MR. DAVITT

Made the following statement to the House of Commons, April 11th, 1893—

“The census of 1891 shows that there are 870,000 inhabited houses in Ireland, and out of these there are no less than 300,000, or *over thirty-six* per cent., built mostly of mud.”—*Freeman's Journal*, April 12th.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ?

That “the census return shows that there are 20,000 houses, or *two* per cent. of the inhabited buildings, ‘built mostly of mud or other perishable material.’”—Mr. Goschen, House of Commons, April 17th, 1893.—*Irish Times*, April 18th.

III.—“THE DAILY NEWS”

Made the following statement in its leading article (criticizing Mr. Chamberlain's arithmetic!) of April 4th, 1893—

“This would be still more interesting if we were not all in possession of a religious census for Ireland. But we are: and according to the information thus furnished, the Catholics are four millions and a half.”

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ?

That, according to the census returns for 1891, the Roman Catholic population of Ireland numbers 3,547,307.

WORKINGMEN

WHICH DO YOU LIKE, High Wages or Low Wages ?

The next election will be your chance of voting for whichever of these you prefer.

If you give your vote to the Gladstonian Candidate you will be voting for **LOW WAGES**, because Mr. Gladstone is trying to pass a Home Rule Bill, and to set up a separate Parliament in Ireland.

The passing of this Bill will throw thousands of Irish workmen out of employment, because their employers will be either ruined or leave the country. And (as Mr. Balfour has said) "**the destruction of the labour market in Ireland means the flooding of the labour market in England.**" This remark applies with quite as much force to **Scotland and Wales** as to England. Throughout the whole of Great Britain there will be more unemployed than ever; trade will be worse than ever. **Your wages will come down**, because you will have thousands of starving Irishmen coming over here in search of work.

**DO YOU LIKE THIS PROSPECT?
IF YOU DO,
VOTE FOR THE GLADSTONIAN MEMBER,
IF YOU DO NOT,
VOTE FOR THE UNIONIST.**

**WORKINGMEN OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
and WALES are you going to condemn yourselves
and your families to STARVATION WAGES,
JUST TO PLEASE MR. GLADSTONE AND A
DISLOYAL IRISH FACTION.**

HERE ARE THREE THINGS WHICH THE HOME RULE BILL WILL DO.

I.—IT WILL HANDICAP YOUR FACTORIES.

"THE Factory Acts, by which certain hours are prescribed for labour, apply at present to the whole of the United Kingdom, and the minister who is responsible for that application is the minister who lives at Westminster. Pass this Act in its present shape, and you will give the power to the new Irish Legislature to have their own Factory Acts in Ireland, their own hours, their own regulations, and you may find yourselves competed against by men nominally belonging to the same empire, upon any terms which the Legislature in Dublin may think fit to impose."—Mr. Balfour, at Manchester, May 17th, 1893.

II.—WILL MAKE PRICES HIGH AND TAXES HEAVY.

"The Prime Minister accepts from Ireland one twenty-sixth part of the national expenditure, whereas he himself has told us that one-fifteenth would be its proper quota. In addition to that, he hands over to Ireland the annual contribution of £500,000 a year in support of the Royal Irish Constabulary. That is not a pleasant outlook for the British people. And remember that is only the beginning. You have been warned by Mr. Gladstone himself that he will not give to Ireland anything which he will not be equally ready to give to Scotland and to Wales; and when he has made to Scotland and to Wales the financial concessions that he has made to Ireland, I should like to ask you how many pennies in the Income Tax—how much will have to be put upon your tea and your tobacco and your sugar, before you will be able to make both ends meet in the British Budget."—Mr. Chamberlain, at the Guildhall, London, 3rd May, 1893.

III.—AND FLOOD YOUR MARKET WITH CHEAP BLACKLEG LABOUR.

"You would have an enormous, and in time an immeasurable, migration of Irish labour into England. Then where will be the power of your combinations for securing a fair share in the profits of the industry in which you are engaged, when there is poured into your labour market an enormous quantity of Irish free labour that will never combine with you, and which you would not perhaps wish or care to combine with. And imagine the power of the free labour which would work at any price, even at starvation wages; imagine the power which these people could exercise by coming in on any terms, and the damage which they could inflict on your labour organizations."—Lord Randolph Churchill, at Bolton, 22nd May, 1893.

Has Ireland Prospered under Unionist Government?

THE RECORD OF HALF A CENTURY, 1841-1891

THE statements in this leaflet are taken from a pamphlet—"Facts and Figures about Ireland," by T. W. Grimshaw, M.A., M.D., Registrar-General for Ireland, and can be relied on as accurate.

POPULATION.

In 1841 Ireland was like a tenement house, over-crowded with poor inhabitants. Population, in consequence of the famine of 1847-48, the failure of the potato, and the decline in the value of wheat and other cereals, has greatly diminished. Higher wages in America have drawn thither Irish emigrants, who have prospered in their new country. Those persons left behind are fewer, but they are better fed, better clothed, better housed, better educated. Both those who left Ireland and those who remain are more prosperous. The population in 1841 was over eight millions; in 1891 it was 4,704,750.

HOUSES.

Mud Cabins consisting of a single room. In 1841 there were of these cabins 491,278; in 1891 there were only 20,617.

Houses having from two to four rooms. In 1841 these houses of a poor, though not the poorest, class numbered 533,297; in 1891 they numbered 312,589.

Both classes have largely diminished in numbers. But houses of a better class have arisen in great numbers.

Good farm-houses and small town-houses having five to seven rooms. In 1841 there were of these houses 264,184; in 1891 they numbered 466,632.

Houses of a still better description. In 1841 these houses numbered 40,080; in 1891 they numbered 70,740.

Thus, the population is smaller, but the people are better housed.

In 1841 there were 625,356 families in mud cabins; in 1891 there were 55,322 families.

On the other hand the number of families occupying good farm-houses or town houses, having five to seven rooms, were only 241,664 in 1841; in 1891 they had risen to 454,870, while the families occupying the best class of houses had doubled in number

CROPS.

Foreign competition has diminished the value of wheat, and the potato has proved itself a risky crop. The acreage under crops has accordingly declined since 1847 (there are no statistics available of an earlier date), but for each individual of the population there was a larger proportion of land under crops in the ten years, 1881-90, than in 1851-60. Under meadow and clover the acres in 1847 were 1,139,000; in 1890 the number was 2,094,000 acres. The acreage of meadow and clover per head of the population has more than doubled since 1851.

LIVE STOCK.

Horses have declined by a few thousands. In 1841 they numbered 576,000; the average of the years 1886-90 was 566,000. Thus a much smaller population own nearly as many horses as were owned by the larger but poorer population of 1841.

Cattle. In 1841 these numbered 1,863,000; in the years 1886-90 the average number was 4,155,000—more than twice as many being held by a greatly diminished population.

Sheep. In 1841 these numbered 2,106,000; in 1886-90 the average number was 3,697,000.

Pigs, which live mainly on the potato refuse, in 1841 numbered 1,413,000; the average in 1886-90 was 1,404,000.

Poultry. In 1841 the number was 8,459,000; in 1886-90 the average number was 14,624,000.

Pasture land has steadily increased, as has been shown; but while in 1841 there were three acres and upwards of such land to each head of cattle, in 1890 there was a head of cattle for every two acres of pasture (or more exactly one acre and four fifths.)

The increase of wealth in cattle and sheep cannot be less than £10,000,000.

MANUFACTURERS.

Linen. In 1841 the number of working spindles was 250,000; in 1890 the number was 827,000. The number of power-looms is not recorded before 1850, when it was 58; in 1890 the number was 26,590.

The capital invested in the Irish Linen Trade is estimated at £70,000,000.

Whisky. The quantity of spirits manufactured in 1841 was 6,359,000 gallons; in 1890 it was 12,989,000. (But teetotalers

should note that the quantity of spirits consumed as beverage in Ireland has diminished since 1881, the first year for which the Registrar-General's pamphlet gives a record of consumption).

Beer. In 1841 the number of barrels of beer manufactured was 575,000; in 1890 it was 2,490,000.

Shipbuilding. In 1842 the tonnage of ships built was 1,042; in 1891 it was 103,454.

RAILWAYS.

Railways, taken collectively, afford the best measure of material progress in every country.

In 1842 there were fourteen miles of railway with £57,000 receipts.

In 1890 there were 2,643 miles of railway with £3,042,000 receipts.

Railway capital cannot be ascertained before 1854, when the paid-up capital was £14,351,000; in 1890 it amounted to £36,269,000.

SHIPPING.

The average tonnage of vessels entered and cleared at the Ports of Ireland in 1841-45 was 3,720,000; in 1886-90 it was 10,172,000.

BANKING.

The capital of Joint-Stock Banks in Ireland has increased from an average of £4,934,000 in 1846-50, to an average of £7,024,000 for the years 1886-90. In 1851 deposits amounted to £8,263,000; in 1890 to £33,325,000.

The average in Savings Banks for the years 1841-45 was £2,543,000; and for the years 1886-90 it was £5,231,000.

INCOME TAX : POST OFFICE.

Income Tax. An increase of £5,329,000, or 25 per cent., took place in the amount of income paying this tax in Ireland between 1853 and 1890, notwithstanding the fact that in the course of that period incomes between £100 and £150 ceased to be assessed.

Post Office. The value of money-orders issued rose from the annual average of £339,000 in the years 1841-45 to an average of £1,283,000 in 1886-90, and the average amount paid rose from £356,000 to £2,123,000, notwithstanding the rapid development of the postal order system during the last few years.

EDUCATION.

In 1841-45 the average number of children attending National Schools was 357,000; in 1886-90 (with a smaller population), the number was 1,059,000. The number of schools had risen from 2,910 to 8,176. The number of pupils attending primary schools in 1841 was 475,559; in 1891 it was 685,074.

The number of persons in Ireland who could neither read nor write in 1841 was 3,766,000; in 1891 it was 777,000.

PAUPERISM.

Statistics with respect to pauperism are misleading without fuller explanations than can be here given, but it may be noted that relief is now more freely and generously bestowed on the poor than formerly. In the words of the Registrar-General, "Since the system of affording relief under the poor-law to *sick persons not paupers* was introduced, the number and cost of poor relief has increased out of proportion to the number of real paupers." Although the wealth of the population has made a great advance, there is much real pauperism in Ireland. "This," says the Registrar-General, "is by no means an essentially Irish difficulty. The same problem presents itself for solution to the greatest and wealthiest city in the world, and apparently with greater intensity than in poor Ireland." The Registrar-General's conclusion is the following:—"When we consider the mighty collapse that took place at the commencement of the past half-century, which began in the days of the great famine of 1846,'47,'48, it may be that Ireland has advanced more rapidly and recovered from a condition of almost total wreck more completely than any other country would have done, or ever has done."

All this progress of Ireland has taken place under the Unionist Government, will you not allow it to continue by supporting the cause of the Union and Irish prosperity?

Various Views on Michael Davitt.

Mr. Davitt may be esteemed in England, but in Ireland he is otherwise rated.

THE National Organ, *The Daily Independent*, of May 5th, speaks of him in the following language :—

"Could anything shame the man who writes falsehoods from 'Land League Cottage, Ballybrack,' to the Australian newspapers? We doubt it. It seems to be in the nature of Mr. Michael Davitt to be shameless, unscrupulous, and vindictive. He writes fiction for hire and exports it for safety; he libels his opponents—all who do not acknowledge him to be the greatest Irishman of his time—and finds a foreign market for his foul fancies and splenetic language." In the same issue he is accused of "audaciously coupling Mr. Redmond's name with that of Mr. Asquith in his desire to shut the gates of mercy on the political prisoners."

And on May 13th *The Daily Independent* returned to the charge :—

"If Michael the Martyr were not so blinded by vanity and bad temper he would see clearly that he had been fooled to the top of his bent by some of the loving colleagues who owe him so many grudges, and who are only too delighted to land him in difficulties and leave him there. To that splenetic, spiteful, jealous, uncertain temper of his must be attributed most of the blunders of his public career."

He seems to be equally appreciated at the Antipodes and in Ireland. Francis Adams, in the *Sydney Bulletin*, apostrophizes him :—

"The game is up, Michael, the game is up; you've got to go under. Only one man had brains and power to play it, and you killed him, Michael, and now no one cares whether you bark or bite."

On the 21st of April, the Coachmakers of Dublin passed the following Resolution :—

"That we, the Members of the Dublin Branch of the United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers, protest against the resolution of the Labour Day Demonstration Committee, inviting Messrs. Davitt and Austin, M.P.s, sham labour representatives and betrayers of Ireland's greatest benefactor (Parnell), to speak on Labour Day in the Phoenix Park. We believe that their presence there will tend more to the injury than to the advancement of the labour cause, as the vast majority of the workingmen of Dublin have no confidence whatever in these individuals. Therefore, we are reluctantly obliged to abstain from taking part in the May Day Celebration."

N.B.—Davitt's name was not included in the May Day programme for the Labour Demonstration in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, 1893.

BISHOP NULTY

ON

WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

At a meeting of the Governors of Mullingar Asylum, held on May 11th, 1893, a discussion having arisen as to the buying of additional land for the Asylum

Dr. Nulty* said he thought the land should be bought, and that politics should not be introduced at this meeting. (Hear, hear.) His firm belief was that land would rise in value.

Mr. Edgeworth—Not according to one of your own prophets, Mr. William O'Brien.

Dr. Nulty—Nobody believes in him.
(Laughter.)

Mr. Edgeworth—I quite agree with you in that.

Dr. Nulty—There is no living politician has made so many mistakes as William O'Brien.—*Irish Daily Independent*, May 12th, 1893.

* The celebrated Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath

THE
ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY
 AND THE
HOME RULE BILL.

THE schedule dealing with the extinction of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police is evidence that the Government have made up their minds to betray into the hands of those who hate them fourteen thousand loyal Irishmen. For no crime, save their unswerving loyalty to the interests of the British Empire, fourteen thousand officers and men employed in the police forces in Ireland are to be first robbed and then sent flying for their lives. Through good report and through evil report the Irish police have fought the battle of Great Britain, and they are now to be sacrificed by the people of Great Britain to satisfy the demands of a party described by Great Britain's own law officers as "steeped to the lips in treason." The Irish Government, which will be manned by such persons as Mr. Healy and Mr. John Dillon, will have power to disband the whole police force, and turn fourteen thousand men upon the world with pittances not adequate to support paupers. The fourth clause of the schedule runs as follows:—

"4. Upon the Executive Committee of the Privy Council in Ireland certifying to the Lord Lieutenant that adequate local police forces have been established in every part of Ireland, then, subject to the provisions of this Act, the Lord Lieutenant shall, within six months after such certificate, order measures to be taken for causing the whole of the Royal Irish Constabulary to cease to exist as a police force, and such order shall be duly executed."

Who will form the Executive Committee of the Privy Council in Ireland? The very men who for ten years have held up the Royal Irish Constabulary to popular odium. The very men who for ten years have openly threatened that when Home Rule gives the police into their hands they will "punish" them according to their deserts. The very men who slandered, abused and vilified the police as "ruffians," "the enemies of Ireland," "the foes of the people," "the mercenaries of a hated garrison."

The police will be disbanded and broken, and what compensation does the Home Rule Bill offer its members? To a man appointed since the 10th of August, 1882, a pension of a sixtieth of his annual salary for each completed year of his service, with an addition of twelve years to his actual years of service. To a man appointed before the 10th of August, 1882, a fiftieth of his annual salary for each completed year of service, with an addition of ten years to his actual years of service.

To please the "gentlemen" whose conduct has brought them within the notice of the police, Mr. Gladstone will send the whole Constabulary force to the right-about, with pensions fixed on a scale that will leave the recipients of them no alternative but to fly the country. To suppose that the Constabulary will take Mr. Healy's shilling is not only an insult to that force, but an insult to the intelligence of those who are asked to believe it. The case of the force has been most admirably put by "An Officer" who writes as follows:—

"By our long devotion to our profession we have made ourselves practically unfitted for other employment. Those of the rank and file who would have qualified themselves for various trades if they had not entered the Royal Irish Constabulary have lost the best years of their lives in their present service, and it is too late for them now to enter into competition with those who in their youth learned the skill which each trade demands. Where can they obtain employment?

"As for the officers, what chance have I and others of obtaining work in a country where all public appointments are now threatened, and where, under the new *regime* there will be a host of applicants, the relatives and friends of the men who are to rule.

"We entered into a solemn contract to serve the Queen and the British Government. We have faithfully kept our part of the contract through many trying years of hardship and danger.

"What a future is before us! We cannot dig, and to beg we are ashamed; and yet this is truly the fate to which we are condemned.

"The terms of the Schedule were published three days ago, and in every barrack in Ireland the men of the force have calculated how it affects themselves. I know the feeling of those under my command to be one of absolute dismay.

"Those who have wives and families are in a state of what I can only describe as pitiable distress. They have found it no easy task on their present modest salaries to keep their families in decent comfort. Every man who has under fifteen years' service will lose more than half his income. He was certain of a gradually increasing income as long as he remained in the force, and besides he had all the chances of promotion. These great advantages, these vested interests which are ours by Act of Parliament, have been

completely ignored. No compensation for their loss has been proposed. What justice is this? Bare justice is our right. What generosity is here? Generous treatment we are entitled to by our traditional devotion, loyalty, and strict adherence to our duty."

One instance which this officer cites will show how the clause of the Bill affects the lower ranks. There is a constable in his district who has eleven years' service. His present pay is £62 a year. He has a wife and three children. The poor woman has been in bad health for some time, and the children are very young. The man is an excellent policeman, well educated and well conducted, and certain of promotion in time. Under the Bill he will be turned adrift on a pension of £26 a year. Ten shillings a week to support himself and his family!

If anybody doubts the accuracy of this statement let him calculate the pension scale for himself. The following table gives the rate of pay of constables, and the "generous" pensions proposed to be given them:—

		Pay			Pensions.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
20 years' service and over	...	70	4	0	42	0	0
15 to 20 years' service	...	67	12	0	33	0	0
12 to 15 years' service	...	65	0	0	28	0	0
9 to 12 years' service	...	62	8	0	24	0	0
7 to 9 years' service	...	59	16	0	19	0	0
4 to 7 years' service	...	57	4	0	15	0	0
6 months to 4 years' service	...	54	12	0	12	0	0
Under 6 months' service	...	39	0	0	0	0	0

From the above it will be seen that a man who has spent nineteen years of his life in the service of the Empire is to be sent about his business with the miserable pittance of about twelve shillings a week. Be it remembered, too, that he entered the service of the Empire *on the faith* of the Empire, and that now it is proposed to discharge him, regardless of his Parliamentary title, to seek employment as best he can. The cruel injustice contemplated cannot be measured by the scale of pensions alone. Every man whom it is proposed to discharge from the existing police entered that force with expectations and rights, if he was well conducted, of promotion. By one stroke of the pen all these are to be taken away, and the men who trusted to England's honour and England's pride are given the option of retiring in their full prime on miserable pensions, or of becoming the slaves and minions of an Executive whose leading members have been found guilty by a judicial tribunal of taking part in a criminal conspiracy.

How about the officers of the force? Third-class District Inspectors will receive pensions in no case exceeding £50. Second-class District Inspectors (*i.e.*, officers having up to twelve years' service), will retire on pensions of from £75 to £90. To men in their position, many of them with wives and children, this means simply ruin. Other employment in Ireland will be out of the question. Ex-R.I.C. will be an effectual bar to public employment in their own country, and what chance will they have in another? It is no disparagement to say that retired police officers are ill fitted for other kinds of employment. Their training makes them so.

Meanwhile Irish "Nationalist" leaders declare that Mr. Gladstone's proposal that Ireland should pay the Constabulary pensions is intolerable. "*Inequitable and intolerable*" says Mr. Redmond, M.P. Mr. Clancy, M.P., echoes the same cry. "A prospect" [that of providing two-thirds of the pay while the force exists, and the pensions of disbanded officers and men] "*a prospect we certainly cannot accept,*" says Mr. Sexton.

To sum up : 1. The great mass of the force will lose over half their income ; a considerable proportion will lose up to three-fourths. Prospective increase of pay, chances of promotion, &c., are entirely ignored.

2. They will also lose their employment, and they have the worst possible chance of obtaining any other. For their loss there is absolutely no provision in the Bill beyond the ordinary abolition terms of 10 or 12 years added for service, and even of these the great majority of men of any service cannot avail themselves, a restricting clause in the Schedule preventing them.

3. They have no power of voluntary retirement—this is conceded to Civil Servants. The Constabulary are, if any thing, more entitled to it.

4. They are practically handed over to the local authorities, *men who have always been hostile to them.*

5. If they are disbanded, *what substitute for them will avail to keep order in Ireland?* What will the "local" police be like? All Irishmen are interested in this question (it is a matter of self-protection). So is Great Britain.

If Schedule VI. of the Home Rule Bill passes in its present form it will be a lasting dishonour to the British people.

EFFECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL UPON THE IRISH CIVIL SERVANTS.

1. AS TO POWERS.

The Irish Government (Dublin) would have power—

To destroy the **permanency** of the Service.

To replace the system of open competition by one of patronage, in the choice of candidates.

To destroy all rights of promotion enjoyed by existing Civil Servants, and to appoint to any post in the Service regardless of seniority or qualification.

After five years to dismiss Civil Servants without pension, or **at any time** to call on them to retire, and replace them by others who might accept reduced salaries without right of pension.

Or to make any reduction in salaries of those retained that might be voted by the Irish Legislative Body.

To fix pensions of Civil Servants whether dismissed or retiring at a minimum rate of one-seventh, and a maximum rate of two-thirds of the salaries enjoyed at the end of the transition period (*i.e.* five years after the "passing of the Act.")

The Imperial Treasury (London) would have full discretionary power over the pensions awarded under the Bill, to the extent of **annulling** them. It will, therefore,

be seen that, like all the other safeguards in the Bill, this clause is illusory, and affords no protection such as it purports.

2. AS TO PENSIONS (under Schedule 5).

Officers under—

5 years' service would get about	1-6th of pay.
15 " "	1-4th "
25 " "	1-2 "
Over 25 " "	2-3rds(maximum)

These are specimens of the terms offered to the **Permanent** Civil Servants of the Crown in Ireland, who have adopted that profession, with its modest fixed stipends, in preference to far more lucrative careers not having the same promise of permanency.

Upon the faith of this assurance large numbers of Civil Servants have contracted obligations of a permanent character,¹⁰ such as life insurances, leaseholds, &c., from which they cannot now release themselves, and, if thrown out of employment on the proposed terms, would be utterly ruined. The special training and methods acquired in the Government Service would not suit other occupations, and are even calculated to militate against the requirements of other than official situations. If these considerations have less force in the case of short Service men, and men who have relinquished (many of them but recently) lucrative professional gains to enter the Government service, their hardships are on the other hand aggravated, in the one case by their heavy outlay for training and outfit, and in the other by the impossibility of regaining the professional earnings sacrificed.

The injustice of the rates of pension may be judged by comparison with the following PRECEDENTS, which show the manner in which past Governments have recognized these obligations:—

Under the Bankruptcy Act (1857) officers of 30 years' service retired were pensioned on full pay.

" Irish Church Act (Gladstone, 1888) holders of freehold offices were retained on full salary.

Under Queen's Universities Ireland Act (1879), permanent officials were pensioned on full pay.

Under the Act of Union all officers were pensioned on full pay,

And when the Government of the East India Company's Dominions was taken over by Lord Derby's Cabinet in 1859, the officials were given pensions ranging from a **minimum** of two-thirds to a **maximum** of full pay.

The following are authenticated cases showing how Civil Servants would be affected if compelled to retire :—

1st case, A.B., (aged 45), receiving salary of £260 per annum, would lose £130 per annum.			
2nd, C.D., (aged 37), receiving £273, would lose £147			
3rd (1), E.F.,	£1,200,	„	£680
4th (2), G.H.	£1,000,	„	£833
5th (3), I.K.,	£1,200,	„	£960
6th (4), L.M.,	£800	„	£666
7th (5), N.O.,	£900	„	£700
8th (6th), P.Q.,	£350	„	£170

NOTES TO ABOVE CASES.—The following are details of the cases in the above table referred to by numbers in brackets.

- (2.) G. H. was appointed in December, 1891, to a professional post in pursuance of a letter from the Treasury stating that the holder would be a **permanent** Civil Servant, with rights of pension and a salary of £1,000, and that they expected the Board which had the patronage to appoint a barrister of **eminence in his profession**. For five years prior to his appointment G. H.'s earnings at the Bar were from £1,200 to £1,300 a year, about one quarter of which was in respect of appointments held by him as a practising Barrister, all of which he had to resign. His pension would be £166 13s. 4d. He has a large family of young children, and has incurred numerous obligations of a more or less permanent nature which he had hoped to discharge—first out of his professional income, and afterwards out of his salary. He could never regain his position at the Irish Bar, and is advanced in years.
- (3.) I. K. was, in 1890, appointed to an official post at a salary of £1,200 a year. He had for sixteen years prior held a medical official post with a salary of £600, and allowances valued at £170, and had he continued in that post he would now be entitled to retire on a pension of two-thirds of his salary and allowances. Through a mere technicality he is now debarred from counting his service in his former office. His pension would now be £240. His actual money loss without interest, upon the assumption that he would have otherwise continued in his present office till he reached 65, would be £15,680.

- (4.) L. M. was appointed in January, 1892, to a semi-judicial post at a salary of £800, £200 of which being subsistence allowance, is not pensionable. As a condition precedent to his appointment, he had to resign one land agency worth £600 a year, another worth £250 a year, to which he had just been appointed, several others bringing in £50 a year, and a professional income as an engineer of £400 a year. Total, £1,300 a year. His pension would be £133. His actual money loss without interest, upon the assumption that he would otherwise have continued in his present office at a salary of £600 only, till he reached 65, would be £9,120. He has a wife and family dependent on him.
- (5.) N. O. was appointed, in 1890, to a professional post. His present salary is £900, increasing in January, 1895, to £1,000. On his appointment he had to relinquish a professional income as Solicitor of about £800, which he could not regain. His pension would be £200. His actual money loss, without interest, on the assumption that he would otherwise have continued in his present office till he attained 65, would be £17,600. Has a wife and two young children, has twenty years' lease of a house with land, at rent and taxes of £120, and pays insurance premiums of £136 10s.
- (6.) P. Q. is a first class clerk at a salary of £350, rising by £15 per annum to £450. His salary on 1st January, 1895, will be £395. He has eleven years' service. His pension would be £180. He has a wife and young children, and pays insurance premiums of £24 10s. a year, and house rent of £70 under lease. His actual money loss, without interest, upon the assumption that he would have otherwise continued in his present office till he reached 65, would be £7,700. He has every prospect of promotion to a post worth £800 a year.
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The Home Rule Bill, 1893,

AND

THE IRISH CIVIL SERVICE.

A SUMMARY of the Amounts Received from the Imperial Funds for Irish purposes, and a Tabulation of the Salaries paid to the Irish Civil Servants.

Compiled from the Current (1892-93) "ESTIMATES FOR CIVIL SERVICES," and "ESTIMATES FOR REVENUE DEPARTMENTS" (1892-93.)

THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE HOME RULE BILL

AND

The Irish Civil Service.

The following figures have been taken from the Blue Book, "Estimates for Civil Services for the year ending 31st March, 1893, and Post Office Estimates," recently presented to Parliament. They are offered with the view of showing the great magnitude of the interests involved in the provisions of the Home Rule Bill which affect the Civil Servants of Ireland.

Should the Bill become law, the vast majority of those specially educated and specially trained officials, in the higher as well as the lower grades of the Service, will be liable for removal on retiring allowances after the expiration of a six months' notice to quit. In the case of veteran Civil Servants the personal loss will not, perhaps, be great, but when regard is had to the fact that the bulk of the service is composed of men in the prime of life, and that they and many younger men who have spent years and money in the laudable effort to secure the once promising situations which they hold, may soon be set adrift, and with no congenial field of labour open to them, the reality of "The Great Betrayal" cannot but be apparent.

It is no exaggeration to say that since the Civil Service became a popular institution, open to the competition of young men who recognized the great advantages of being connected with it, and who did not disdain the preliminary toil and expense necessary to secure a place in it—that no such shock to their confidence in Imperial guarantees has ever been felt by a large body of public servants as that which has been given to the Civil Servants of the Crown in Ireland through the medium of the Home Rule Bill. Throughout every department of public life this shock has been felt. The vast official machinery of the Castle, of the Local Government Board, of the Legal Departments, has experienced it; it has been felt in the departments of the Board of Public Works, the Police, the Prisons, Public Education, and in all

the other branches of the service. The extent of the feeling may be gauged after a perusal of the figures which we extract from the Parliamentary Books already mentioned. They give a bird's-eye view of the various departments of the Service in Ireland, and the present standing and salaries of the officials of all grades who conduct it.

The Civil Service, as we have shown, consists of several distinct departments. In some of them the appointment (at least under the existing Statutes), does not rest with the Irish Government, and the only object in removing an official would be to punish him for some unpopular act and perhaps to effect a saving in the public expenditure. In other cases the Irish Administration would have power to fill up the vacant office and the present holder might be removed in order to make room for some grasping or impecunious patriot. The Sections which deal with the question are the 27th and 28th.

We give them in the language of the Bill, as follows:—

“27.—(1) All existing Judges of the Supreme Court, County Court Judges, and Land Commissioners in Ireland, and all existing officers serving in Ireland in the permanent Civil Service of the Crown, and receiving salaries charged on the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom, shall, if they are removable at present, on address from both houses of Parliament, continue to be removable only upon such address; and if removable in any other manner, shall continue to be removable only in the same manner as heretofore; and shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore, or such duties as Her Majesty may declare to be analogous, and their salaries and pensions, if, and so far as, not paid out of the Irish consolidated fund, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, provided that this section shall be subject to the provisions of this Act with respect to the Exchequer Judges.

“(2) If any of the said Judges, Commissioners, or Officers retires from office with the Queen's approbation before completion of the period of service entitling him to a pension, Her Majesty may, if she thinks fit, grant to him such pension, not exceeding the pension to which he would, on that completion, have been entitled, as to Her Majesty seems meet.”

“28.—(1) All existing Officers in the permanent Civil Service of the Crown, who are not above provided for, and are at the appointed day serving in Ireland, shall, after that day, continue to hold their offices by the same tenure and to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore, or such duties as the Treasury may

declare to be analogous ; and the said gratuities and pensions, and until three years after the passing of this Act, the salaries due to any of the said officers, if remaining in his existing office, shall be paid to the payees by the Treasury out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

“(2) Any such officer may, after three years from the passing of this Act, retire from office, and shall at any time during those three years, if required by the Irish Government, retire from office, and on any such retirement may be awarded by the Treasury a gratuity or pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act: Provided that—

(a) Six months written notice shall, unless it is otherwise agreed, be given either by the said officer or by the Irish Government as the case requires ; and

(b) Such number of officers only shall retire at one time and at such intervals of time as the Treasury, in communication with the Irish Government, may sanction.

“(3) If any such officer does not so retire, the Treasury may award him, after the said three years, a pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act, which shall become payable to him on his ultimate retirement from the service of the Crown.

“(4) The gratuities and pensions awarded in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

“(5) All sums paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in pursuance of this Section shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.

“(6) This Section shall not apply to officers retained in the service of the Government of the United Kingdom.”

It will be seen that Judicial Officers for the most part fall under the 27th Section, and the protection which the Bill affords for their rights and their consequent judicial independence is of the most inadequate character. The 27th Section excludes the Judges of the Court of Bankruptcy, and includes only the Judicial Officers whose salaries are charged on the consolidated fund, whereas the salaries of almost all the present Judicial Officers are charged on the estimates. These latter officers will be subject to arbitrary removal by the Irish Government receiving only such pension or compensation as may be provided for them by a schedule which is still blank. The Dublin Police Magistrates and other holders of special posts may, possibly, not be subject to removal, but in the case of the Resident Magistrates it is not unlikely that remuneration to them will find no place in the blank schedule. A Crown Solicitor who has given any offence to the dominant faction is likely to be removed without any compensation ; and if the

28th Section is meant to be limited to officers having a permanent tenure a considerable number of the present officers in the Four Courts can be similarly disposed of. It may be doubted, however, whether the word "permanent" refers to the tenure of the officer, or only to the permanence of the department to which he is attached. There are officers whose posts are created by statute, but who hold only during the pleasure of the Judges. They are seldom removed, except for neglect or misconduct, and it would make a very serious difference in their position if they were rendered dismissible by new masters for purely political reasons. Indeed the change from one master armed with the power of dismissal, to two independent masters each armed with this power would be in any case a material change for the worse. Another very numerous class of Civil Servants consists of the postmasters and postmistresses throughout Ireland. They are seldom dismissed, except for neglect or misconduct. But the office is one usually coveted by shopkeepers in villages and small towns, and under Home Rule there can be little doubt that postmasters and postmistresses will be dismissed for being Unionists or Parnellites, whenever some active local McCarthyite is anxious to obtain the post. With regard to all civil service appointments of which the Irish Government will have (or can acquire) the disposal, it is to be borne in mind that the new administration will on assuming office be besieged by an army of place-hunters clamouring for a reward for their past services or sufferings on behalf of the cause, and as the Irish Exchequer is not likely to be overloaded with cash, the only means of providing them with places will be to dispossess the present occupants or to provide funds for the creation of new places by the suppression of old ones.

That the six months' notice to leave will be extensively employed by the Irish Government there cannot be a doubt. In the first place the present holders of office will be personally obnoxious to the new *regime*; they are the administrators of a system of Government which time out of mind has been suggestively described as the "Castle system," while they have been dubbed "Castle rats;" and, lastly, it could not be expected that any of the leading agitators of the present day would be suffered to rest in peace in their berths under an Irish Government, with their £1,000 or £2,000 a year, while the "wounded soldiers" of the cause, many of whom are now abroad, whither they have fled from the law, were in want. The latter would rise in their battalions and clamour for places with a show of reasonableness that no

Irish Government could withstand, and the result would be the transfer of hundreds upon hundreds of offices, great and small, to those so-called sufferers in the cause of Ireland, at the expense of the present holders. The fugitives from justice, alone, would present a heavy call upon the patronage of a Home Rule Executive.

That the new class of officials thus selected for political services will prove efficient and trustworthy men is hardly to be expected, and besides the wrongs inflicted on the present Civil Servants of Ireland the ignorance or remissness of the new-comers will probably open the door to extensive frauds. As regards the permanent Civil Servants it is not fair or just that the Schedule defining their rights should be kept back even at this late period, especially if there is an intention on the part of the Government to rush the Bill through the House instead of permitting each of its clauses to be subjected to careful examination and amendment in Committee. It may be added that if the Bill passes in its present form, the Irish Government will be able to silence an unpopular judge by depriving him of his official staff, and, perhaps (for their right to legislate on this point seems doubtful), by supplying the places of the existing staff with nominees of their own.

Without removing any existing Civil Servant, however, a very important class of appointments will fall ere long into the hands of the Irish Administration—that of the Sub-Commissioners charged with the duty of revising the judicial rents all over Ireland. These rents were fixed for a term of fifteen years under the Land Act of 1881, at the end of which period they were to be revised. The three years during which the Irish Administration is not to interfere with the Land Question (if that provision extends to the appointment of Sub-Commissioners), will expire just as the revision of the rents under this Act will be commencing, and it will be much easier to select Sub-Commissions which will make an average reduction of say 50 per cent. all round than to carry a Bill for that purpose in the teeth of the veto. The only Bill required would be one to confine appeals to legal questions and not questions as to the mere value of the land. The clamourers for place would in general be disposed to reduce the rents heavily even if left to their own devices, but an Irish Ministry in which the most prominent offices were filled by the chief promoters of the Plan of Campaign, would, of course, see that no one was appointed who did not concur in their own views on that subject. And all this could be done without interfering with the vested rights of any one. The Sub-Com-

missioners at present stand at the lowest point, there being hardly any work to be done until the period of revision arrives, and those who formerly held the office have no legal claim to re-instatement when the number must again be increased. During the three intervening years a great part of Ireland will probably be worked under the Plan of Campaign, and at the end of that period the leading Campaigners will assume the character of Sub-Commissioners and fix the rents at the amounts already tendered.

What amount of grants advanced on Loans by the Board of Public Works, Ireland, has been written off or remitted in each successive year since 1880 ?

And what further amounts advanced on Loans by the English Loan Commissioners *qua* Ireland have been written off or remitted during the same period ?

And what amounts have been provided by free grant during the same period by the Board of Works ?



CIVIL SERVICES, IRELAND.

ABSTRACT

*Showing Amounts received from Imperial Funds,
and Distribution of Salaries, according to
Estimates for Civil Service, for Year ending
31st March, 1893.*

AMOUNTS RECEIVED.

Public Works—

New Works and Alterations	...	...	£108,032
Maintenance and Supplies	...	...	71,145
Furniture, Fittings, and Utensils	...	...	13,015
Rent and Insurance	...	...	11,427
Fuel, Light, Water, Cleansing, &c.	...	...	19,790
Phoenix Park National School	...	...	76
Drainage Works, River Shannon	...	...	6,000
Gross Total			£229,485
Less Appropriation in aid			... 7,380
			£222,105

Railways—

Repayments to Baronies under Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883	...	£17,371
Light Railways (Ireland) Act, 1889	...	90,000
		£107,371

Rates on Government Property— 33,000

Friendly Societies Registry—

Salaries and Allowances	415
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<i>Salaries and Expenses</i>	£4,764
Chief Secretary and Subordinate Departments			41,060
Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	...		1,997
Local Government Board	...	...	133,792
Public Record Office	...	...	5,801
Public Works Office	...	...	34,489
Registrar-General's Office	...	...	23,539
Valuation and Boundary Survey	...	...	13,237

Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions—

Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	76,236
Supreme Court of Judicature, &c.	...	...	113,609
Land Commission	...	...	74,000
County Court Officers	...	...	123,325
Dublin Metropolitan Police	...	...	99,761
Constabulary	...	...	1,382,655
Prisons, Ireland	...	...	132,018
Reformatory and Industrial Schools	...	...	111,457
Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum	...	...	6,544
Public Museum of Science and Art	...	...	18,286
Royal College Science, Dublin	...	...	6,937
Royal Hibernian Academy	...	...	300
Geological Survey of Ireland	...	...	2,069
Royal Irish Academy	...	...	1,600
Royal Irish Academy of Music	...	...	300
Royal Zoological Society of Ireland	...	...	500
Public Education, Ireland	...	...	859,801
Endowed Schools Commission	...	...	1,005
National Gallery	...	...	2,500
Queen's Colleges	...	...	5,028
Pauper Lunatics	...	...	117,213
Hospitals and Charities	...	...	18,224
Pleuro-Pneumonia (Grant in aid)	...	...	20,000
			£3,794,938

Distribution of Salaries included in the foregoing Amounts.

Household of Lord Lieutenant—

Private Secretary, for Self and Clerks	...	...	£829
4 Aides-de-Camp at £200	...	...	800
1 State Steward	...	...	506
Comptroller	...	...	414

Household of Lord Lieutenant (continued)—

Gentleman Usher	...	...	...	£200
Chamberlain	...	...	...	200
Master of Horse	...	...	...	200
3 Gentlemen in Waiting	...	...	...	443
Surgeon to Household	...	...	...	100
State Porter	...	...	...	62
Sergeant of Riding Horse	...	...	...	30
Telegraphist at Viceregal Lodge	...	...	...	91

£3,875

Salaries and Allowances, Chapel—

Chaplain	...	...	...	335
Reading Clerk	...	...	...	42
Organist and Master	...	...	...	240
Choristers	...	...	...	74
Keeper of the Chapel	...	...	...	98

£789

Chief Secretary's Offices—

Under Secretary	...	...	...	2,000
Assistant Under Secretary	...	...	...	1,350
2 Principal Clerks, £950 each	...	...	...	1,900
4 First-class Clerks, Upper Section	...	...	...	2,506
1 " " Lower "	...	...	...	571
4 " " Lower "	...	...	...	1,276
Registrar	...	...	...	375
1 Clerk, Second Division	...	...	...	281
7 Clerks, Second Division	...	...	...	1,217
Allowance, Clerk in Waiting	...	...	...	52
" " Sundays	...	...	...	26
Copying	...	...	...	430
Draughtsman of Bills	...	...	...	600
Allowance to Registrar-General	...	...	...	200
1 Librarian	...	...	...	250
1 Office Keeper	...	...	...	150
3 Messengers	...	...	...	351
7 " "	...	...	...	631
12 Charwomen, Cleaners, Messengers, &c.	...	...	...

Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums—

2 Inspectors	2,309
Senior Clerk	450
Clerical Assistance	400
1 Messenger, £24, 1 Cleaner, £30	54

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Inspectors Irish Fisheries—

3 Inspectors	£2,100
Secretary	306
2 Second Division Clerks	394
5 Messengers and Clerks	...	...	...
Reporting	...	...	...	180

Veterinary Department—

Chief Clerk	...	...	...	600
Chief Inspector	...	...	...	500
Assistant Clerk	...	...	...	345
4 Second Division Clerks	...	...	...	616
2 Travelling Inspectors	...	...	...	600
2 Messengers	...	...	...
1 Charwoman	...	...	...
8 Police Constables as Ship Inspectors	...	...	...	315
29 Veterinary Inspectors at Ports	...	...	...	6,000
3 Assistant Inspectors	...	...	...	412
Extra Pay and Allowances to officers and men of R.I.C.	765
Cattle Brander's Wages	125

Cruelty to Animals Act—

Inspector	50
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Charitable Donations and Bequests—

2 Secretaries	1,300
1 Clerk	350
Copying	156
2 Messengers, &c.	...	...	...

Local Government Board—

Vice-President	...	...	...	2,000
1 Medical Commissioner	...	...	...	1,200
1 Commissioner	...	...	...	1,200
1 Secretary	...	...	...	900
1 Assistant Secretary	...	...	...	700
Allowance, Private Secretary to Vice-President	...	...	...	100
8 General Inspectors	...	...	...	5,000
4 Medical Inspectors	...	...	...	2,000
1 Engineer Inspector	...	...	...	700
Engineering Inspectors (Temporary)	...	...	...	600
6 Clerks of the First Class	...	...	...	2,929
2 Clerks, Second Class	...	...	...	1,525
1 do. do.	...	...	...	350
21 do. do.	...	...	...	3,306

Local Government Board (continued)—

12 Messengers, &c., £30 to £119			
Copying	...	...	£1,000
10 Auditors of Poor Law Unions, &c.	...	...	6,750
Grants in aid—Schoolmasters	...	...	4,070
„ Schoolmistresses	...	...	5,640
210 One-half Salaries of Medical Officers, Work-houses	...	...	9,350
832 One-half Salaries of Medical Officers, Dispensaries	...	...	45,200
140 One-half Salaries of Sanitary Officers	...	...	1,500
226 „ „ Executive Officers	...	...	2,620
810 „ „ Medical Officers of Health	...	...	7,420
597 „ „ Sanitary Sub-Officers, &c.	...	...	4,600

Public Record Office—

1 Deputy Keeper	...	...	...	800
1 Assistant Keeper	...	...	...	520
3 First Clerks	...	...	...	1,252
6 Second Clerks	...	...	...	905
Copying	...	...	...	493
Office Keeper	...	...	...	100
Temporary Workmen and Servants	...	...	...	346
6 Searchers	...	...	...	385
Foreman	...	...	...	93
Keeper of State Papers	...	...	...	500
Clerk	...	...	...	300

Public Works Office—

Chairman	...	...	...	1,500
2 Commissioners	...	...	...	2,400
Secretary	...	...	...	657
3 Staff Officers	...	...	...	1,400
8 Clerks, Second Division	...	...	...	1,451
2 Boy Clerks	...	...	...	81
Private Secretary to Chairman	...	...	...	100
1 Clerk in Charge of Accounts	...	...	...	850
5 First Class Book-keepers	...	...	...	2,239
15 Clerks, Second Division	...	...	...	2,558
3 Surveyors of Buildings	...	...	...	1,715
1 Furniture Clerk	...	...	...	400
Assistant Clerk	...	...	...	144
11 Assistant Surveyors Buildings	...	...	...	3,173
4 Clerks, First and Second Division	...	...	...	807
Boy Clerk	...	...	...	39
Inspector Ancient Monuments	...	...	...	50
1 Engineer	...	...	...	610

Public Works Office (continued)—

1 Assistant Engineer	...	...	...	£500
1 Valuator	...	...	...	550
1 Principal Draughtsman	...	...	...	320
1 Draughtsman in Charge	...	...	...	270
2 Draughtsmen	...	...	...	329
Temporary Draughtsmen	...	...	...	800
10 Messengers	...	...	...

Land Improvements Acts, and Land Act Loans, 1881—

Chief Inspector	...	...	...	500
1 Examiner	...	...	...	400
14 Inspectors at £300	...	...	...	4,200

Friendly Societies Registry—

Assistant Registrar	...	...	...	300
Allowance for Clerk	...	...	...	100

Registrar General's Office—

Registrar General	1,000
Secretary	...	...	...	740
3 Superintendents	...	...	...	1,290
Inspector of Registration	...	...	...	500
Deputy Superintendents	...	...	...	928
6 Third Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,293
11 Second Division Clerks	...	...	...	1,800
2 Index Compilers	...	...	...	400
Copying	...	...	...	995
Office Keeper and Messenger	...	...	...	100
3 Messengers	...	...	...

Census of Ireland—Salaries, &c.—

1 Commissioner	...	...	...	500
4 Superintendents	...	...	...	1,525
2 Assistant Superintendents	...	...	...	290
68 Male Clerks	}	...	...	3,233
8 Female Clerks				
26 Boy Copyists	...	...	...	586
Taskworkers	...	...	...	880
6 Packers	...	...	...	150

NOTE.—Most of these Officials are of course temporary.

Valuation and Boundary Survey—

1 Commissioner of Valuation	...	...	£1,000
1 Chief Clerk	...	...	400
12 First-class Valuers	...	...	5,290
2 Second-class Valuers	...	...	622
21 Assistant Surveyors and Valuers	...	...	3,402
9 First-class Clerks	...	...	3,151
23 Clerks, Second Division	...	...	2,999
1 Office Keeper	...	...	100
Messengers, &c.	...	...

Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions—

Attorney-General	...	...	5,000
Solicitor-General	...	...	2,000
Chief Crown Solicitor	...	...	2,800
Assistant Crown Solicitor	...	...	900
1 Clerk	...	...	200
1 Clerk	...	...	160
Conveyancing Clerks	...	...	200
2 Men Copyists	...	...	216
Leinster Circuit, 7 Crown Solicitors	...	...	2,800
Munster Circuit, 4 do.	...	...	2,050
North-West Circuit, 5 do.	...	...	2,875
Connaught Circuit, 3 do.	...	...	2,000
North-East Circuit, 5 do.	...	...	2,500
22 Sessional Crown Solicitors	...	...	3,745

Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments—***Lord Chancellor's Offices—***

Clerk of Crown and Hanaper	...	...	900
Private Secretary	...	...	500
First Class Clerk	...	...	450
Second Class Clerk	...	...	262
Train Bearer	...	...	100
Purse Bearer	...	...	100
Chief Clerk	...	...	1,000
First Class Clerk to Chief Clerk	...	...	450
Second Class Clerk to Chief Clerk	...	...	350
2 Train Bearers to Lord Justice of Appeal	...	...	200

Master of Rolls Offices—

Secretary	...	...	300
Train Bearer	...	...	138
Clerk in Court	...	...	400
Chief Clerk	...	...	1,000
Assistant Chief Clerk	...	...	500
Senior Clerk	...	...	253
Junior Clerk	...	...	150

Vice-Chancellor's Offices—

Train Bearer	...	...	...	£100
Clerk in Court	...	...	...	400
Chief Clerk	...	...	...	1,000
Assistant Chief Clerk	...	...	...	500
Senior Clerk	...	...	...	300
Junior Clerk	...	...	...	150

Registrar's Office—

2 Registrars	...	...	...	3,000
1 First Assistant Registrar	...	...	...	1,262
1 Second " "	...	...	...	923
4 Senior Clerks	...	...	...	1,740
5 Second Clerks	...	...	...	983

Land Division—

1 Registrar	...	...	...	1,000
Do. as Recording Officer	...	...	...	100
1 Examiner	...	...	...	1,000
1 Assistant Examiner	...	...	...	700
3 First Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,545
6 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,772
1 Clerk	...	...	...	150

Receiver's Office—

1 Examiner	...	...	...	800
1 First Class Clerk	...	...	...	450
1 Second Class Clerk	...	...	...	450
1 Chief Receiver	...	...	...	1,000
Allowed for Hire of Clerks	...	...	...	900

Queen's Bench Division—

2 Masters	...	...	...	2,400
1 Master of Crown Office	...	...	...	1,000
Registrar	...	...	...	900
Pleadings and Record Assistant	...	...	...	700
Chief Clerk	...	...	...	600
5 First Class Clerks	...	...	...	2,363
6 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,943
1 Secretary to Lord Chief Justice	...	...	...	100

Trial of Election Petitions—

Election Petition Officer	25
Clerk	50

Winter Assizes—

Registrars and Criers	240
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Exchequer Division—

1 Registrar	£900
1 Chief Clerk	700
3 First Class Clerks	1,366
3 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	665
1 Late Principal Assistant	...	...	...	800
1 Secretary to the Lord Chief Baron	...	...	...	100

Registrars to the Judges—

Town Registrar	...	...	...	275
Allowance to Registrar	...	...	...	275
10 Registrars to Judges on Circuit at £367—				
4s. 8d. each	...	...	...	3,672

Probate or Matrimonial Division—

Registrar	...	...	...	1,023
Assistant Registrar	...	...	...	618
Judge's Registrar	...	...	...	700
Clerk of Seat	...	...	...	450
Record Keeper	...	...	...	450
2 First Class Clerks	...	...	...	813
7 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,713

District Registries—

<i>Belfast</i> —Registrar	...	...	...	600
Allowance	...	...	...	100
First Clerk	...	...	...	180
Second Clerk	...	...	...	120
Third Clerk	...	...	...	100
Fourth Clerk	...	...	...	80
Fifth Clerk	...	...	...	80
<i>Cork</i> —Registrar	...	...	...	350
First Clerk	...	...	...	130
Second Clerk	...	...	...	80
<i>Armagh</i> —Registrar	...	...	...	400
First Clerk	...	...	...	130
Second Clerk	...	...	...	66
Boy Clerk	...	...	...	51
<i>Waterford</i> —Registrar	...	...	...	250
First Clerk	...	...	...	100
Second Clerk	...	...	...	65
<i>Londonderry</i> —Registrar	...	...	...	300
First Clerk	...	...	...	120
Second Clerk	...	...	...	63
Boy Clerk	...	...	...	40
<i>Limerick</i> —Registrar	...	...	...	300
Clerk	...	...	...	80
Assistant Clerk	...	...	...	62

Consolidated Taxing Office—

3 Taxing Officers	...	...	...	£3,200
Chief Clerk	...	...	...	600
3 Clerks	...	...	...	792

Consolidated Accounting Office—

1 Accountant General	...	...	...	1,000
1 Chief Clerk	...	...	...	700
2 First Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,000
4 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	970
2 Second Division Clerks	...	...	...	271
1 Abstractor	...	...	...	84

Consolidated Record and Writ Office—

Clerk of Records and Writs	...	...	...	1,900
First Assistant	...	...	...	800
3 First Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,348
2 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	474
1 First Assistant	...	...	...	300

Consolidated Notice Office—

1 Clerk of Office	...	...	...	250
3 Clerks	...	...	...	398

Consolidated Nisi Prius—

Registrar	...	...	...	700
Allowance for Clerks	...	...	...	100

Subordinate Establishment—

8 Criers at £100	...	...	...	800
Ditto to Judges on Circuit	...	...	...	405
21 Tipstaves	...	...	...	1,624
7 Court Keepers	...	...	...	605
Office and Housekeepers	...	...	...	627
Servants	...	...	...	374
12 Messengers	...	...	...	787
7 Hall Porters	...	...	...	350
2 Bookbinders	...	...	...	237
1 Fireman	...	...	...	47

Court of Bankruptcy—

2 Judges	...	...	...	4,000
1 Chief Registrar	...	...	...	800
Do. Allowance	...	...	...	162
Chief Clerk	...	...	...	800
2 Registrars	...	...	...	1,200
First Clerk	...	...	...	425
Deputy Registrar	...	...	...	500
2 Assistants	...	...	...	528
2 Court Messengers	...	...	...	500

Court of Bankruptcy (continued)—

1 Court Keeper	...	...	...	£60
2 Servants	...	...	...	59
2 Criers	...	...	...	120
2 Tipstaves	...	...	...	100
2 Office Messengers	...	...	...	120
1 Superintendent of Copying	...	...	...	130
Copying	...	...	...	850

Admiralty Court Registry—

Acting Registrar	...	...	...	400
Chief Clerk	...	...	...	300
Allowance as Temporary Marshall	...	...	...	109
Allowance for Shorthand Writing in Court	...	...	...	100
Assistant Clerk	...	...	...	70
Crier	...	...	...	90
Tipstaff	...	...	...	50
Court Keeper	...	...	...	50

Registry of Deeds—

Registrar	...	...	...	1,200
First Assistant Registrar	...	...	...	650
Second Assistant Registrar	...	...	...	500
10 First Class Clerks	...	...	...	3,808
15 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	4,679
19 Second Division Clerks	...	...	...	2,616
1 Abstractor	...	...	...	116
Copying	...	...	...	300
Housekeeper, Messengers, Porters, &c., from £10 to £136	...	...	...

Registry of Judgments—

Registrar	...	...	...	800
Chief Clerk	...	...	...	450
Searching Clerk	...	...	...	308

The Irish Land Commission—

3 Private Secretaries	...	...	...	300
4 Assistant Commissioners (Legal)	...	...	...	4,800
30 Assistant Commissioners (non-Legal)	...	...	...	24,000
4 Registrars to Sub-Commissions	...	...	...	2,000
1 Secretary	...	...	...	1,250
1 Assistant Secretary	...	...	...	500
2 Examiners of Title	...	...	...	2,000
1 First Assistant Examiner	...	...	...	800
2 Assistant Examiners	...	...	...	1,010
Superintendent, Agricultural Branch	...	...	...	955

The Irish Land Commission (continued).—

Accountant	...	...	...	£800
Chief Purchase Inspector	...	...	...	750
Superintendent, Church Collection	...	...	...	700
Registrar	...	...	...	600
Temporary Assistant Commissioners	...	...	...	10,000
Temporary Staff, Investigators of Tithe Rent-charge	...	...	...	1,800
15 First Class Clerks	...	...	...	5,600
Allowances to five First Class Clerks	...	...	...	250
25 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	4,860
30 Third Class Clerks	...	...	...	3,000
Temporary Clerks	...	...	...	5,000
Housekeepers, Servants, Messengers, &c.	...	...	...

Legal Department, Irish Land Commission.—

Solicitor	...	...	...	900
Assistant Solicitors	...	...	...	800
Allowance, Clerical Assistance	...	...	...	1,500
Temporary Assistant (Local Registration of Title Act)	...	...	...	700

*County Court Officers, &c.—**Clerks of the Crown and Peace, &c.—*

Armagh	...	...	...	900
Carlow	...	...	...	500
Cavan	...	...	...	750
Cork, East Riding and City	...	...	...	1,000
Cork, West Riding	...	...	...	800
Down	...	...	...	1,000
Fermanagh	...	...	...	725
Kerry	...	...	...	950
Kildare	...	...	...	600
Limerick and City	...	...	...	950
Longford	...	...	...	575
Louth and Drogheda	...	...	...	600
Mayo	...	...	...	1,000
Meath	...	...	...	600
Sligo	...	...	...	750
Tipperary	...	...	...	1,000
Wexford	...	...	...	725
Wicklow	...	...	...	500
Queen's County	...	...	...	600
Remuneration to Clerks of Peace, &c., under Land Law Act, &c.	...	...	...	4,600
Remuneration to Registrars and Clerks of Peace	...	...	...	4,700
Salaries of Process Servers	...	...	...	8,300

Salaries, Courts of Bankruptcy, Cork and Belfast—

Official Assignee, Cork	...	...	£700
Official Assignee, Belfast	...	...	800
Local Registrar, Cork	...	..	250
Local Registrar, Belfast	...	...	250
Deputy Registrar, Belfast	...	...	250
Messengers and Courtkeepers	150

Executive Officers—

4 Divisional Commissioners	4,300
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Magistrates—

20 at £675	13,500
32 at 550	17,600
20 at 425	8,500

Expenses of Revision—

2 Barristers at £210 (City Dublin)	...	...	420
1 Barrister (County Dublin)	...	...	150
Additional Barristers	...	...	3,252
Deputies of Clerks of Peace	...	...	928

Dublin Metropolitan Police—

Commissioner	...	...	1,200
Chief Magistrate	...	...	1,200
3 Magistrates	...	...	3,000
2 Chief Clerks, £450 and £350	...	...	800
2 Second Class Clerks	...	...	600
6 Second Division Clerks	...	...	997
2 Boy Clerks	...	...	78
1 Accountant	...	...	500
1 Finance Clerk	...	...	380
3 Second Division Clerks	...	...	457
1 Surgeon	...	...	240
1 Assistant Medical Officer	...	...	75
Allowances and Wages, including Wage of Labourers, Servants, Cooks, &c.	...	...	1,212
Chief Superintendent	...	...	500
6 Superintendents	...	...	1,850
20 Inspectors	...	...	3,088
34 Station Sergeants	...	...	3,536
128 Sergeants	...	...	12,324
973 Constables	...	...	70,471
44 Supernumeraries	...	...	1,773

Detective Division

Superintendent	...	...	300
Chief Inspector	...	...	176
3 Inspectors	...	...	420
16 Sergeants	...	...	1,569
10 Detective Officers	780
13 Detective Officers	939
Extra Pay, Rewards, &c.,	800

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Royal Irish Constabulary—*Inspector-General's Office—*

Inspector-General	£1,800
Deputy-General	...	...	1,200
2 Assistant Deputy Generals	...	...	1,400
Private Secretary	...	...	150
Pay as First District Inspector	...	...	225
Clerk in Charge of Accounts	...	...	800
Staff Officer	...	...	712
Senior Clerk	...	...	600
4 First Class Clerks	...	...	1,994
2 Second Class Clerks	...	...	738
10 Second Division Clerks	...	...	1,736
2 Senior Messengers	...	...	233
1 Junior Messenger	...	...	98
House Keeper, House Cleaners, &c.	...	...	174

Depot—

Assistant Inspector-General (Commandant)	..	...	600
Store-Keeper and Barrack-Master	...	...	391
Surgeon	...	...	400
Veterinary Surgeon	...	...	200
Police Inspector	...	...	224

Constabulary—

Town Inspector of Belfast	...	...	600
36 County Inspectors	...	...	5,642
89 District Inspectors, 1st Class	...	...	23,440
90 do. do. 2nd Class	...	...	15,624
47 do. do. 3rd Class	...	...	5,875
1 Head Constable Major	...	...	104
261 Head Constables	...	...	25,428
2,146 Sergeants	...	...	169,250
550 Acting Sergeants	...	...	40,040
9,304 Constables	...	...	572,726

Prisons, Ireland—*Office of General Prisons Board—*

Chairman	...	...	1,200
Vice-Chairman	...	...	1,000
Medical Member	...	...	800
Secretary	...	...	354
Inspectors	...	...	1,200
Clerk of Accounts	...	...	500
Superintendent of Stores	...	...	400
Clerk	...	...	350
Clerk	...	...	290
5 Second Division Clerks	...	...	808

Habitual Criminals Registry—

Clerk	...	...	...	£153
Clerk	..	...	...	143
Architect	...	...	...	400
Messengers, &c., £15 to £60				

Mountjoy Prison—

Governor	...	...	...	450
Deputy Governor	...	...	...	200
Protestant Chaplain	...	...	...	120
Roman Catholic Chaplain	...	...	...	200
Assistant Roman Catholic Chaplain	...	...	...	150
Presbyterian Chaplain	...	...	...	60
Medical Officer	...	...	...	400
Assistant Medical Officer	...	...	...	120
Steward	...	...	...	140
Governor's Clerk	...	...	...	140
Governor's Clerk	...	...	...	80
2 Steward's Clerks	...	...	...	182
1 Steward's Clerk	...	...	...	65
1 Chief Warder	...	...	...	120
2 Schoolmasters	...	...	...	200
3 Principal Warders	...	...	...	219
14 Trade Warders	...	...	...	909
1 Locksmith Warder	...	...	...	85
19 First Class Warders and 2 Porters	...	...	...	1,351
44 Second-class Warders	...	...	...	2,234
Clerk of Works	...	...	...	164
2 Male Servants	...	...	...	84

Local Portion of Prison—

Physician	...	...	...	325
Chief Warder	...	...	...	114
Clerk	...	...	...	85
4 Trade Warders	...	...	...	270
1 First Class Warder	...	...	...	65
16 Warders	...	...	...	882
Servants, &c.	...	...	...

Grangegorman Female Prison—

Female Superintendent	...	...	...	122
Steward and Clerk	...	...	...	150
Protestant Chaplain	...	...	...	120
Roman Catholic Chaplain	...	...	...	200
Presbyterian Chaplain	...	...	...	20
Surgeon	...	...	...	325
Principal Matron	...	...	...	100

Grangegorman Female Prison (continued)—

8 Matrons	...	...	...	£378
1 Store Matron	...	...	...	70
11 Matrons	...	...	...	416
6 Assistant Matrons	...	...	...	222
1 Chief Warder	...	...	...	110
Clerk	...	...	...	84
First Class Warder	...	...	...	65
Second Class Warder	...	...	...	150
Gate Porter	...	...	...	53
Chief Warder, Fourth Class	...	...	...	65
Warder	...	...	...	57
Carter	...	...	...	59
&c., &c.				

Maryborough Prison—

Governor	...	...	...	400
Protestant Chaplain	...	...	...	60
Roman Catholic Chaplain	...	...	...	80
Visiting Medical Officer	...	...	...	100
Assistant Medical Officer	..	...	...	150
Chief Warder	...	...	...	105
Clerk	...	...	...	80
2 Trade Warders	...	...	...	130
6 First Class Warders	...	..	...	382
1 Hospital Warder	...	...	...	65
9 Second Class Warders	...	...	...	448

*Local Prisons—**Male Department—*

3 Governors	...	...	...	750
9 Governors	...	...	...	2,041
4 Governors	...	...	...	758
3 Deputy Governors	...	...	...	360
10 Chaplains	...	...	...	2,440
17 Medical Officers	...	...	...	1,600
1 Apothecary	...	..	...	20
12 Clerks	...	...	...	962
1 Storekeeper	...	...	...	77
6 Chief Warders	...	...	...	600
5 Chief Warders	...	...	...	425
7 Chief Warders	...	...	...	525
6 Chief Warders	...	...	...	390
29 Trade Warders	...	...	...	1,930
6 Hospital Warders	...	...	..	364
163 Warders	...	...	...	9,163
17 Bridewell Keepers	..	...	...	393

*Local Prisons (continued)—**Female Department—*

Matron	...	...	...	£90
Matron	...	...	...	65
4 Matrons	...	...	...	168
53 Assistant Matrons	...	...	...	2,157
6 Occasional Matrons	...	...	..	90
17 Servants	...	...	...	401
8 Female Attendants	...	...	...	46

Reformatory and Industrial Schools—

Inspector	...	...	...	575
Clerk, Senior	...	...	...	350
Clerk, Junior	...	...	...	300

Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum—

Resident Physician and Governor	...	...	...	605
Visiting Physician and Governor	...	...	...	605
Visiting Physician	...	...	...	175
Assistant Resident Medical Officer	...	...	...	120
Female Superintendent	...	...	...	45
Storekeeper	...	...	...	120
Clerks	...	...	...	200
3 Chaplains	...	...	...	155
Head Male Attendant	...	...	...	50
15 Male Attendants	...	...	...	451
Night Watchman	...	...	...	44
13 Female Attendants	...	...	...	309
Servants, &c., &c.	...	...	...

*Science and Art Department—**Dublin Museum—*

Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	5,375
Salaries, National Library	..	...	...	898
Salaries, School of Art	...	...	...	680
Salaries, Botanic Gardens	...	...	...	2,459
Salaries, Royal College of Science	...	...	...	4,827
Salaries, Royal Hibernian Academy	...	...	...	300
Salaries, Geological Survey	...	...	...	1,669

*Public Education—**Dublin Office—*

Resident Commissioner	...	...	...	1,500
1 Secretary	...	...	...	1,000
1 Secretary	...	...	...	800
Principal Assistant Secretary	...	...	...	723

Public Education (continued)—

Chief of Inspection	...	...	...	£1,325
Bookkeeper	...	...	...	457
Storekeeper	...	...	...	480
11 First Class Clerks	..	.	...	5,224
6 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	2,050
41 Clerks, Second Division	...	...	...	6,091
Copying	...	...	...	3,900
Counsel for examining Titles	...	...	...	100
Labourers, Porters, Messengers, £50, to £100				

Inspection Department—

6 Head Inspectors	...	...	...	3,450
66 District Inspectors	...	...	...	24,016
10 Assistant Inspectors	...	...	...	1,953
1 Directress of Needlework	...	...	...	150

Board's Training College—

4 Professors	...	...	...	1,633
Matron, Male Department	...	...	...	86
Assistant Matron, Female Department	...	...	...	30

*Model Schools—**Marlborough Street—*

10 Head Teachers	}			
18 Assistant Teachers		...	...	2,500
36 Assistants	...	..	...	340
2 Music Teachers	...	...	...	140
Elocution Teacher	...	...	...	40
&c., &c., &c.				

West Dublin, Glasnevin, and Inchicore—

8 Teachers and 7 Assistants	...	...	...	1,443
Teacher of Music	...	...	...	95
Workmistress	...	...	...	35
7 Pupil Teachers and 12 Monitors	...	...	...	240
Caretaker's Wages	...	...	...	105

District Model Schools—

47 Principal, and 53 Assistant Teachers	...	...	...	8,600
140 Pupil Teachers	...	...	...	3,340
60 Monitors	...	...	...	400

Minor Model Schools—

20 Principal, and 19 Assistant Teachers	...	...	...	3,184
19 Pupil Teachers	...	...	...	494
30 Monitors	...	...	...	240
Servants	...	...	...	200

National Schools—

Salaries of about 10,800 Teachers	...	...	£440,000
640 Workmistresses	...	...	9,500
5,700 Monitors	...	...	50,000

Agricultural Establishment—

Superintendent	...	...	430
Agriculturist	...	...	225
Literary Teachers	...	...	145
Lecturers	...	...	200
Veterinary Lecturer	...	...	90
Gardener	...	...	120
Housekeeper	...	...	86

Endowed Schools Commissions—

Secretary	450
Clerk	270

National Gallery—

Salaries and wages (8 Officials)	1,130
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Queen's Colleges—

(See Page 389 Estimates)

Hospitals and Charities—

Secretary	150
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*Public Works and Buildings—**Salaries—*

Deputy Ranger, Curragh, Kildare	336
Harbour Master, Kingstown	300
Harbour Master, Howth	...	...	65
Harbour Master and Engineer, Ardglass	...	...	195
Superintendent, Boyne Navigation	...	...	90
Bailiff, Phoenix Park	...	...	250
Deerkeeper, Phoenix Park	...	...	100
Gardener, St. Stephen's Green	...	...	100
2 Overseers of Buildings	...	...	280
450 Artisans, Servants, &c., from 6s. to 36s. per week			

POST OFFICE.

AMOUNTS RECEIVED FROM IMPERIAL FUNDS.

Chief Office, Dublin—

Salaries, Wages, and Allowances	...	...	£82,970
Travelling	...	...	750
Commission on Issue and payment of Money	...	...
Orders and Postal Orders	...	...	5,100
Rent	...	...	620
Law Charges	...	...	725
Advertisements	...	...	15
Stores	...	...	1,000
Gas	...	...	1,150
Water	...	...	55
Incidental Expenses	150

Provincial Establishments—

Salaries, Travelling, Rent, &c., &c.	...	193,210
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Surveyors—

3 Surveyors	1,985	
3 Assistant Surveyors	1,500	
9 Clerks	2,090	
7 Stationary Clerks	240	
Office Rent	...	...	...	180
Travelling Account, Assistant Surveyors and Clerks	...	...	...	3,900
Post Office Savings Bank	}	Percentage of Total Cost	513		
General Post Office, Dublin					
Accountant's Office					
Post Office Savings Banks, Salaries, Wages, and Allowances	Ireland's proportion not specified in Estimates				

Conveyance of Mails	199,130
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DISTRIBUTION OF SALARIES IN POST OFFICE, AND POST OFFICE TELEGRAPH OFFICES.

Dublin—

Secretary	1,200
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Secretary's Office—

Chief Clerk	£754
3 Principal Clerks	1,420
4 First Class Clerks	1,517
1 Second Class Clerk	...	...	...	350
13 Clerks, Second Division	...	...	...	1,840
Storekeeper	...	...	...	218
3 Paper Keepers	...	...	...	357
Messengers	...	...	...	310
Boy Messengers	...	...	...	76
Copyists	...	...	...	507

Solicitor's Office—

Solicitor	1,000
Professional Clerk	473
Clerical Assistance	330

Medical Department—

Medical Officer	290
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Mail Office—

Mail Assistants	487
Apparatus Examiners	479

Account Branch—

Accountant	700
Examiner	...	...	...	500
Book-keeper	...	...	...	500
Cashier	...	...	...	474
5 Principal Clerks	...	...	...	1,860
34 Clerks, Second Division	...	...	...	6,423
Overseer	...	...	...	139
6 First Class Tracers	...	...	...	588
15 Second Class Tracers	...	...	...	947

Female Clerical Staff—

Superintendent	...	...	...	170
First Class Clerk	...	...	...	100
15 Second Class Clerks	...	...	...	1,050
Hall Porter and Caretaker	...	...	...	99
5 Boy Messengers	...	...	...	118
Copyist	...	...	...	78
Labourer	...	...	...	66
3 Charwomen	...	...	...	82
Allowance Charwoman	...	...	...	18

SUMMARY.

Secretary's Office	...	£6,394
Solicitor's Office	...	1,803
Medical Department	...	290
Mail Office	...	966
Account Branch	...	9,822
		<hr/>
		19,275

Sorting Office—

Controller	...	...	£560
4 Superintendents	...	...	1,796
5 Assistant Superintendents, First Class	...	...	1,621
12 Assistant Superintendents, Second Class	...	...	2,565
2 Risk Allowances	...	...	40
29 Clerks	...	...	4,728
Inspector of Postmen	...	...	200
Assistant Inspector of Postmen, First Class	...	...	198
4 Assistant Inspectors of Postmen, Second Class	...	...	520
2 Redundant Clerks	...	...	400
60 First Class Sorting Clerks ; 199 Second Class Sorting Clerks	...	...	22,200
1 First Class Sorter and Packer of Stores	...	...	285
3 Second Class Sorters and Packers of Stores	...	...	434
5 Bagmen	...	...	584
6 Messengers and Porters	...	...	42
2 Boy Messengers	...	...	836
8 Charge Takers	...	...	10,607
Special Allowances for Supervision	...	...	468
Good Conduct Stripe Allowances	...	...	1,200
21 Labourers	...	...	47
1 Labourer	...	...	263
12 Auxiliary Sorting Clerks	...	...	562
Unestablished Sorting Clerks	...	...	3,916
172 Auxiliary Postmen	...	...	166
Allowance for Relieving Postmen	...	...	16
Allowance for Sunday Collection	...	...	187
Allowance to Postmen for Boots	...	...	299
Sundry Allowances	...	...	104
Extra Allowances	...	...	185
Do. do.	...	...	190
Do. do.	...	...	250
Domestic Servants	...	...	1,940
Town Receivers in Dublin	...	...	456
Portion of Salaries at College Green Branch	...	...	125
Allowances	...	...	5,705
Extra Duties	...	...

[Total for Salaries, Wages. and Allowances £82,970]

Surveyors—

3 Surveyors in Ireland	...	...	£1,985
3 Assistant Surveyors in Ireland	...	...	1,500
9 Clerks	...	...	2,090
7 Stationary Clerks	...	...	240
General Post Office, Dublin, Post Office Savings Banks	{Percentage of Salaries, Accountant's Office}		513
Allowances per United Kingdom, percentage not specified	£62,500 ; Irish ...	...

[The Postal Telegraph Service is included in the foregoing Salaries.]

HOW

THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL

WOULD AFFECT

IRISH CIVIL SERVANTS.

Clause 28, which purports to secure the vested rights of Irish Civil Servants, is one of the most illusory sections in this Bill. While purporting to secure existing Civil Servants in their present rights, it would by the specious way in which it is drafted, have exactly the opposite effect. The future Irish Government, untrammelled by orders in Council and Treasury Minutes, would be given the absolute control over Irish Departments. They, would, therefore be able at one blow to abolish the competitive system, and **Americanize** the Service, replacing men who have gained their posts as the reward of merit, who belong to no party, and who have discharged their duties without fear, favour and affection, by partisans. If such powers are ever entrusted to an Irish Executive it does not need the gift of prophecy to divine the manner in which they will use these powers. Mr. William O'Brien's Article in the *Nineteenth Century*, quoted by Mr. Balfour in his speech on the second reading of the Bill, is tolerably conclusive evidence that they will clear the service and fill it with Nationalists.

However anxious the Irish Executive might be to retain existing officers, the *vis a tergo* would be so great that, if the victors in the struggle were denied the spoils, they would quickly be kicked out of office and replaced by men who would reward the organizers of local branches of the National League by giving them the prizes for which they have been struggling for so many years.

Those who now hold offices would find themselves in a sorry plight, even if retained. All chances of promotion

would be gone, as only men in sympathy with the Nationalist movement would have a chance of promotion, and all the plums of office would be greedily swallowed by the leaders of the Nationalist party, amongst whom there would be a regular scramble for offices, once the self denying ordinance which now prevents them from taking government pay had been removed.

But this would not be the end of the misfortunes of the Civil Servants. The Irish Government would have power to serve every one of them with notice to quit on pensions which would spell ruin for the vast majority of them.

Having taking this preliminary step, the next would be to bargain with those whom they might desire to retain, and as the majority of them would be obliged by circumstances to accept any terms which might be offered, they would be able to re-engage them at reduced salaries and cut down their pensions *ad lib.* This is what Mr. Gladstone means when he says that the rights of existing Civil Servants are to be secured.

It is hard to say which would find themselves in the worst position, those retained or those kicked out. In the first instance it may be pointed out that it is left to the discretion of the Treasury to withhold or reduce the pensions provided by the Bill. It is easy to see how this power might be made an engine for oppressing Irish Civil Servants. A bankrupt Irish Government might say to them, "We cannot afford to pay these heavy pensions, you must reduce them," and accordingly the Treasury, which is not proverbial for its generosity, might award pensions upon any scale they pleased, or might withhold them altogether. These powers being reserved to the Treasury, it might appear hardly worth while to refer to the terms contained in the Fifth Schedule, which regulates the scale of pensions; but, as they indicate the spirit in which the present Government refuse to recognise their just obligations, it may be well to explain by a few authenticated examples how the Fifth Schedule to the Bill would work if it were adhered to.

1st case, A.B., (aged 45), receiving salary of £260 per annum, would lose £130 per annum.			
2nd, C.D., (aged 37), receiving £273, would lose £147			
3rd (1), E.F.,	„	£1,200,	„ £680
4th (2), G.H.	„	£1,000,	„ £833
5th (3), I.K.,	„	£1,200,	„ £960
6th (4), L.M.,	„	£800	„ £666
7th (5), N.O.,	„	£900	„ £700
8th (6th), P.Q.,	„	£350	„ £170

NOTES TO ABOVE CASES.—The following are details of the cases in the above table referred to by numbers in brackets.

- (2) G. H. was appointed in December, 1891, to a professional post in pursuance of a letter from the Treasury stating that the holder would be a **permanent** Civil Servant, with rights of pension and a salary of £1,000, and that they expected the Board which had the patronage to appoint a barrister of **eminence in his profession**. For five years prior to his appointment G. H.'s earnings at the Bar were from £1,200 to £1,300 a year, about one quarter of which was in respect of appointments held by him as a practising Barrister, all of which he had to resign. His pension would be £166 13s. 4d. He has a large family of young children, and has incurred numerous obligations of a more or less permanent nature which he had hoped to discharge—first out of his professional income, and afterwards out of his salary. He could never regain his position at the Irish Bar, and is advanced in years.
- (3) I. K. was, in 1890, appointed to an official post at a salary of £1,200 a year. He had for sixteen years prior held a medical official post with a salary of £600, and allowances valued at £170, and had he continued in that post he would now be entitled to retire on a pension of two-thirds of his salary and allowances. Through a mere technicality he is now debarred from counting his service in his former office. His pension would now be £240. His actual money loss without interest, upon the assumption that he would have otherwise continued in his present office till he reached 65, would be £15,680.
- (4) L. M. was appointed in January, 1892, to a semi-judicial post at a salary of £800, £200 of which being subsistence allowance, is not pensionable. As a condition precedent to his appointment, he had to resign one land agency worth £600 a year, another worth £250 a year, to which he had just been appointed, several others bringing in £50 a year, and a professional income as an engineer of £400 a year. Total, £1,300 a year. His pension would be £133. His actual money loss without interest, upon the assumption that he would otherwise have continued in his present office at a salary of £600 only, till he reached 65, would be £9,120. He has a wife and family dependent on him.
- (5) N. O. was appointed, in 1890, to a professional post. His present salary is £900, increasing in January, 1895, to £1,000. On his appointment he had to relinquish a professional income as Solicitor of about £800, which he could not regain. His pension would be £200. His actual money loss, without interest, on the assumption that he would otherwise have continued in his present office till he attained 65, would be £17,600. Has a wife and two young children, has twenty years' lease of a house with land, at rent and taxes of £120, and pays insurance premiums of £136 10s.

- (6.) P. Q. is a first class clerk at a salary of £350, rising by £15 per annum to £450. His salary on 1st January, 1895, will be £395. He has eleven years' service. His pension would be £180. He has a wife and young children, and pays insurance premiums of £24 10s. a year, and house rent of £70 under lease. His actual money loss, without interest, upon the assumption that he would have otherwise continued in his present office till he reached 65, would be £7,700. He has every prospect of promotion to a post worth £800 a year.

It will thus be seen that this 28th Clause is one of the most dishonest in this dishonest Bill. While affecting to secure the salaries and tenure of Civil Servants retained it gives them over bound hand and foot to the enemies of law and order, and while purporting to award pensions to those who are evicted, it retains the power of reducing or annulling those pensions at pleasure.

IRISH FARMERS

AND THE

HOME RULE BILL.

The injury inflicted on Irish Farmers and Cattle dealers by the Home Rule Bill appears very clearly from the answers of Mr. Sergeant Campion, Q.C., to questions submitted to him by the Council of the Royal Dublin Society.

1. *Question.* As regards the difficulties that may be expected to arise in the event of the re-appearance of an outbreak of any contagious disease among animals; and, in consequence, the prohibition of the export of animals to Great Britain, should Ireland hold only the same position towards Great Britain as do our Colonies, more particularly instancing Canada?

Mr. Sergeant Campion's Answer. Under section 3, sub-section 7, the regulation of trade is **reserved to the Imperial Parliament who can therefore prohibit any export** they think proper. The **present position of Canada is, as regards trade, more favourable than the position of Ireland will be under the Bill**, and under the section above referred to.

2. *Question.* As regards the grant of about £50,000 per annum for the extirpation of pleuro-pneumonia, at present administered with so much success by the Veterinary Department? Also of the loss of a grant of £9,000 per annum for the inspection of cattle at the Irish ports by the Veterinary Department?

Mr. Sergeant Campion's Answer. These several grants would cease to fall on, or be payable out of, the Imperial Exchequer, and it will be discretionary with the Irish Legislature to supply them.

3. *Question.* As regards the grant of £5,000 per annum for Improvement of Breed of Horses and Cattle in Ireland?

Mr. Sergeant Campion's Answer. The Society will lose this grant of £5,000 per annum. There is no provision for continuing this grant out of any other fund, and the Irish Legislature will not be bound to make the grant.

4. *Question.* As regards the Royal Dublin Society's position as a Chartered Body, and its property at Ball's Bridge?

Mr. Sergeant Campion's Answer. The Society may be deprived of its rights, privileges and property by a Statute of the Irish Parliament carried into effect "by due process of law," that is by a course of procedure prescribed by such Irish Statute itself, or otherwise—the terms "due process of law" here meaning "process of law for the time being."

The property at Ball's Bridge would in the same manner come within the legislation by a Statute of the Irish Parliament.

Thus under the Home Rule Bill the Imperial Parliament could prohibit the exportation of cattle from Ireland. Ireland will be worse off, as regards trade, than Canada.

Grants of £50,000, £9,000 and £5,000 a year administered now for the good of the Irish Farmer and Cattle-dealer will cease; or if not, the money must come out of Irish pockets.

The Cattle Shows and Horse Shows at Ball's Bridge may also come to an end.

Irish Farmers, will such a Home Rule Bill serve your interests?

MICHAEL DAVITT'S CONVERSION.

Home Rulers make much of Mr. Michael Davitt's recently avowed conversion to moderate principles, the announcement of which was obviously timed by him to suit the purposes of his party.

Those who believe in the permanence of Mr. Davitt's declarations, when made to serve a particular turn, as in the case of his speech in the House of Commons on April 11th, should remember that *this is not the first time* Mr. Davitt has used the language of moderate statesmanship. By his own admission, he, for "six or eight years," openly *condemned outrage, with a view to "winning over the sympathies of Great Britain;"* but when the result of the General Election of 1886 convinced him that his oily phrases had missed their mark, the inner Michael *suddenly blazed out again* in the following terms (see the *Freeman's Journal* of June 3rd, 1887):—

"It is England's Government and England's laws that have perpetrated these crimes upon your homesteads, and I trust that every young man here to-day will have registered in his heart a vow which I made thirty years ago, to bear towards England and England's Government in Ireland *all the concentrated hate of my Irish nature.* . . . I must say for myself, I was disagreeably surprised at the little resistance that was offered by those who were turned out. I have no doubt that more determination would have been shown were it not for the way in which men like myself, for I accuse myself first, and others in this movement have been preaching to our people for the last six or eight years, 'Do not commit any outrage, do not be guilty of any violence, do not break the law.' I say it here to-day, and I do not care who takes down my words, *I am heartily ashamed of ever having given such advice to the Irish people.* We spoke thus

to our countrymen in the belief that our advice to them to abstain from violence might have appealed even to the stony hearts of the Tories of England and their allies the Liberal Unionists. We were under the impression if we submitted, in order not to violate the law, we would have won over to our side the sympathies of the entire people of Great Britain. I find now I was mistaken, and I will make a resolution here to-day that as long as this work continues not a word of censure shall fall from my lips against an Irishman who defends his home at the risk of his life. . . . There is no violence which a man and his children defending their homes can be guilty of which the civilised world will not extenuate and condone."

After this free admission of the motive which actuated his former moderate counsels, and the no less free retractation of them when no longer serviceable, of what value shall we deem Mr. Davitt's present civilities? Let there be but a single instance of the exercise of Her Majesty's veto on an act of the Irish Parliament, and the speech with which Mr. Davitt has recently charmed your ears will fly to the four winds in the following formula:—

"I am heartily ashamed of ever having uttered such words to the British House of Commons."

DAVITT'S CONVICTION.

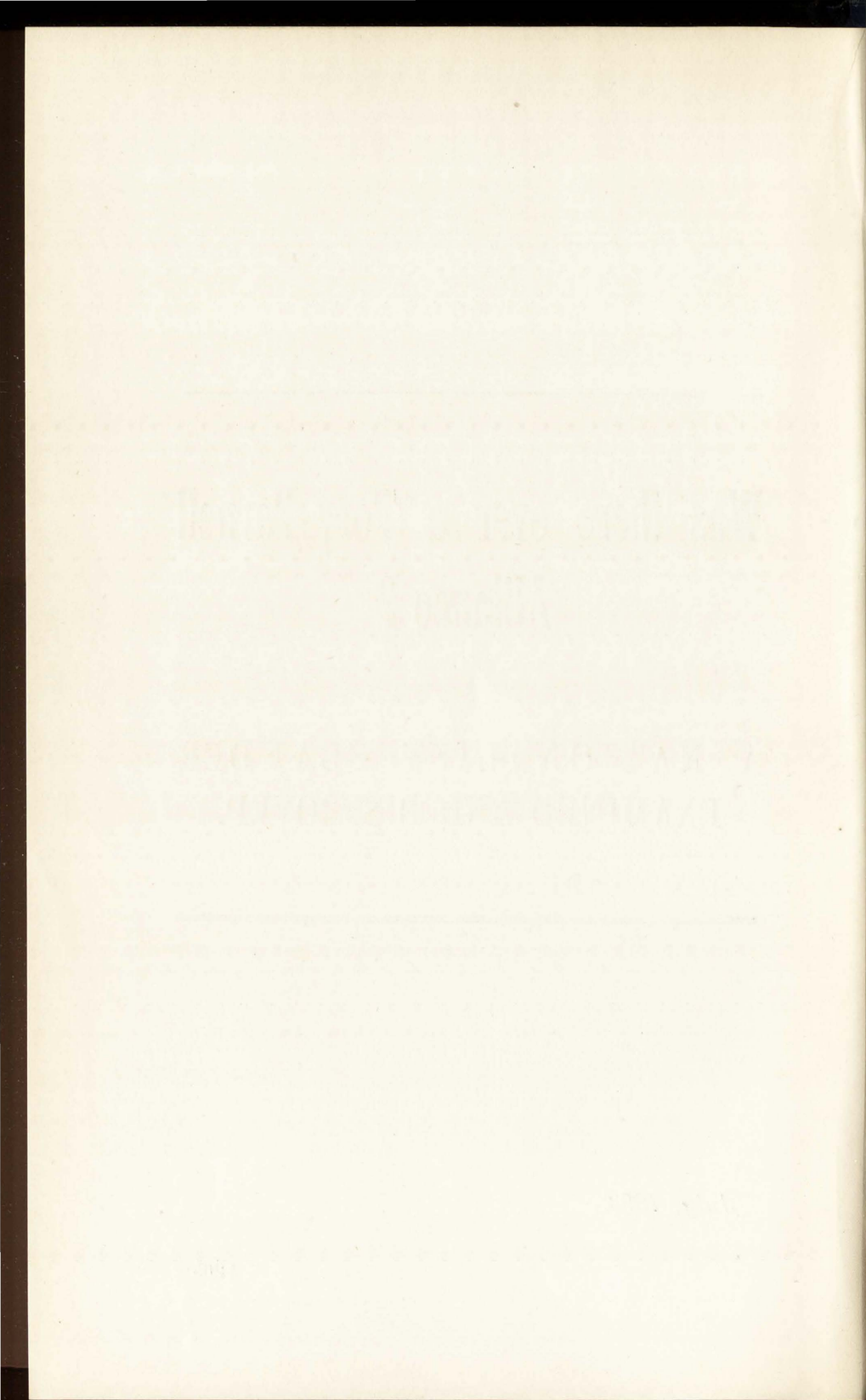
In July, 1870, Davitt was convicted of "Treason-Felony," and sentenced to 15 years' penal servitude. A letter, sworn to be in Davitt's handwriting, was put in evidence, of which the Lord Chief Justice of England (Sir Alexander Cockburn, in passing sentence, spoke in the following terms:—

"That letter of Davitt's showed that there was some dark and villainous design against the life of some man. The letter spoke for itself."

Was there ever a Tory-Parnell
Alliance ?

A NATIONALIST SLANDER
EXAMINED AND DISPROVED.

July, 1893.



Was there ever a Tory-Parnell Alliance ?

A NATIONALIST SLANDER EXAMINED AND DISPROVED.

During the late visit to Belfast of the Working Men's Deputations from the north of England, an interesting incident occurred, which illustrates not only the extent to which intelligent men may be misled as to the facts of political history, but also, when the source of the error is investigated, the methods which Nationalist writers adopt for the advancement of Home Rule doctrine.

At the evening meeting held in the Exhibition Hall on May 23rd, a question of much importance was put by one of the delegates. The extract is taken from the account given in the *Belfast News-Letter* of May 24.

"Mr. Lee (Renton) then ascended the platform and asked the following question :—

"If the Conservative party are so strongly opposed to Home Rule, why were they seeking the Nationalist vote in 1885, and what guarantee is there that they would not *again* support a Home Rule Bill of some kind in the early future, provided they should be successful in their opposition to the Bill of the present Government ?"

"The speaker considered it very hard if they were converted by the Unionists of the North of Ireland into Anti-Home Rulers, that afterwards they themselves would go and do that which they who had been converted would be opposing."

This question, involving a reference to the events of 1885, which have already passed into the domain of ancient history, was one which, for several reasons, could not be fully or satisfactorily answered without reference to documentary evidence, which was not then at hand. The object of this paper is to test the accuracy of the assumptions on which the question was founded.

It is assumed by the speaker, as shown especially by the use of the word "again," that the Conservatives held out to the Nationalists hopes or expectations that they would bring in a Home Rule Bill, and that by this means they endeavoured to secure the Nationalist vote at the 1885 election. It will be observed that these assumptions are of a positive or affirmative character, and therefore, in accordance with the well-known rule, the burden of proof lay upon the speaker. He should, therefore, at once have been asked to produce some particle of evidence for the statement.

It is generally difficult, and sometimes impossible, to prove a negative; but there are some such falsehoods of so egregious a character, that they are capable of disproof. This can be done here by testing the evidence—such as it is—which can be produced in favour of Mr. Lee's position.

This consists mainly of the assertion made by Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons on June 7th, 1886, and of the account of the matter given by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., in "The Parnell Movement," which has been the principal text-book of Home Rule speakers, together with the story of the so-called Tory-Parnell combination, as told by the same gentleman in the same book.

On June 7th, 1886, Mr. Parnell made the following statement to the House of Commons:—

"My speech about Protection at Wicklow was made at a time (October 5th, 1885) when we had every reason to know that the

Conservative Party, if they should be successful at the polls. would have offered Ireland a Statutory Legislature, with a right to protect her own industries."

On the same evening, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach replied to Mr. Parnell, and the following passage took place.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach.—"I must, for myself and my colleagues, state in the plainest and most distinct terms, that I utterly and categorically deny that the late Conservative Government ever had any such intention."

Mr. Parnell.—"Does the right hon. gentleman mean to deny that the intention was communicated to me by one of his own colleagues, a Minister of the Crown?"

Sir M. Hicks-Beach.—"Yes, sir, I do, to the best of my knowledge and belief; and if any such statement were communicated by any one to the hon. member, I am certain that he had not authority to make it. Will the hon. member do us the pleasure to give the name to the House?"

Mr. Parnell.—"The right hon. gentleman has asked me a question which he knows is a very safe one. I shall be very glad to communicate the name of his colleague when I receive his colleague's permission."

On the following day, the *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that Lord Carnarvon was the Minister referred to, and on the 10th, Lord Carnarvon replied in the House of Lords.

"I have no doubt your lordships have noticed a discussion in another place, in which Mr. Parnell is reported to have stated that a Minister of the Crown, a Member of the late Government, had conveyed to him the intention of the Government to offer Ireland a statutory Parliament, with power to protect Irish industries. I should not have thought of saying but a few words on the subject, had not a paper of considerable circulation pointedly stated that I was that Minister. I therefore beg to deny, as plainly and broadly as I can, the statement I have referred to as having been made by

Mr. Parnell. . . . My lords, I shall not be wrong if I go a little further into this question. . . . I wish to inform you of an incident, which by itself, and of itself, would not have seemed to me worthy of the attention of the House. Towards the end of July it was intimated to me, that if I were willing, Mr. Parnell would also be willing to meet me in conversation. Now, I hold that no apology from me is necessary for entering into such a conversation. It seemed to me to be alike my duty to make myself acquainted with what Mr. Parnell's views and opinions were, and that if, from fear of being censured, I hung back, I should have been guilty of the greatest moral cowardice. The only point which seemed to me important to bear in mind was, first of all, that I should make no promise, give no assurance, enter into no understanding; and secondly, that whatever I did, I should do myself, for myself, and apart from my colleagues,—endeavour to say in the plainest language that I was not acting with the Cabinet, that I was not authorised by it; and I may say that I had no communication on the subject, nor any authorisation, and that I never communicated that which had been done, and therefore the responsibility was simply and solely mine. . . . I think I have made myself plain to the House, and I endeavoured to make myself equally plain to Mr. Parnell—that the three conditions on which I could enter into a conversation with him were these:—First of all, that I was acting myself, by myself, and that all the responsibility was mine, and the communications were for me alone; secondly, that the conversation was with reference to information only, and that it must be understood that there was no agreement or understanding, however shadowy; thirdly, that I was there as the Queen's servant, and that I would neither hear nor say one word that was inconsistent with the Union of the two countries. My lords, to those conditions Mr. Parnell assented, and I had the advantage of hearing from him his general opinions and views on Irish matters, and this really is the whole case as I have stated. . . . So far as what was said is concerned, I should be content if it were published at Charing Cross."

It would be hardly possible to frame in the English language a denial "plainer and broader" than this. Yet Mr. T. P. O'Connor, with an infinite, yet, perhaps, not altogether ill-grounded contempt for the intelligence of the British public, ventures to give the following version in "The Parnell Movement"—the "Commission" edition—p. 272 :—

"Before finally making up his mind as to what direction the Irish vote ought to go (*sic*) in England, Mr. Parnell had held an interview with Lord Carnarvon. At this interview Mr. Parnell was given by Lord Carnarvon to understand that the Conservative party, if they should be successful at the polls, would offer Ireland a Statutory Legislature, with a right to protect her own industries, and that this would be coupled with the settlement of the Irish Land Question on the basis of purchase on a larger scale than that now proposed by the Prime Minister."

At the foot of the page there is a note in smaller print appended :—
"Speech of Mr. Parnell on the second reading of the Government of Ireland Bill, *Times*, June 8. Lord Carnarvon denied some points in this statement in the House of Lords next day. Anybody who reads the denial carefully will see it is in reality a confirmation."

This is absolutely the whole of what Mr. T. P. O'Connor says, in a book containing 358 closely written pages, as to this remarkable incident. The reader is now in a position to judge of the merits of the historian, who, as editor formerly of the *Star*, and now of the *Sun*, has done far more to educate the English people in the direction of Home Rule than any other journalist. It will be observed that he not only suppresses Lord Carnarvon's reply, but that in his allusion to it he actually mis-states the date upon which it was made, so that anyone who took the trouble to refer to it might be unsuccessful in the search. The words, "next day," might mean either the day after Mr. Parnell's speech, which would be June 8th, or the day after that speech appeared in the *Times*, which would be June 9th. The reader, therefore, who might go to

the trouble of verifying the reference, would look to the papers of June 9th or June 10th. In neither case would he find it. Lord Carnarvon's reply was delivered on June 10th, and reported in the papers of June 11th. Verily, the ways of a Nationalist M.P. are past finding out.

It is now necessary to consider whether Lord Carnarvon or Mr. Parnell was telling the truth ; if it can be shown that Mr. Parnell had a distinct object to serve in making the assertion, it will to some extent aid the investigation.

Lord Carnarvon was known always as a man of the highest honour and integrity. He was never charged with falsehood, directly or indirectly, by anyone except Mr. Parnell.

Mr. Parnell was charged with falsehood by the following, among other persons—

I.—By himself.

On May 3rd, 1889, before the Special Commission he was cross-examined as follows :—

Q. "Did you or did you not intend to mis-state the fact to the House?"

A. "It is very possible that I did."

Q. "Deliberately?"

A. "Deliberately—quite possible."

Q. "Do you think that statement did mislead the House?"

A. "I am afraid it did not, for they passed the Act."

Q. "You wished it to mislead the House?"

A. "I should think so—certainly."

(*Evidence*, vol. vii., p. 245.)

II.—By the Judges of the Special Commission.

Major Le Caron had sworn that Mr. Parnell, during their interview in the House of Commons, had sent a message, through him,

to John Devoy, with a view to bringing about an understanding with the American Physical Force Party; that Mr. Parnell also asked him to see Alexander Sullivan, the notorious Chief of the Clan-na-Gael, and W. J. Hynes, for the same purpose, and that he used the words, "there need be no misunderstanding, we are working for a common purpose—for the independence of Ireland—just the same as you are working for."

[*Extracts from Report of Judges*, pp. 103, sqq.]

"Mr. Parnell states that he never sent any message either to the Clan-na-Gael or to any of the persons mentioned by Le Caron, and that he neither directly nor indirectly communicated with any of these persons for the purpose that is suggested by Le Caron."

"It appears to us to be highly probable that Mr. Parnell would say to anyone whom he regarded as a member of the Physical Force Party in America, that he thought it desirable that an understanding should be brought about between that party and Mr. Parnell. . . . It was probable also that Mr. Devoy should be mentioned by Mr. Parnell as the person best able to bring about the understanding which he desired, for Devoy had undoubtedly been one of the principal agents by whom the support of a section of the Fenians had been obtained."

After referring to passages in a letter from Devoy, produced by Le Caron in corroboration of his statement, the judges resume:—"We think that these passages tend strongly to confirm Le Caron's testimony; and we come to the conclusion that Le Caron has given a correct account of the message he was requested by Mr. Parnell to convey to Devoy."

Thus, the three judges did more than charge Mr. Parnell with falsehood, who had denied sending any message to Devoy—they refused to believe him on his oath.

III.—By Mr. Gladstone.

In a letter to the *Times*, dated November 29th, 1890, which

appeared on December 1st, Mr. Gladstone referred in the following terms to the four points dwelt upon by Mr. Parnell in his *Manifesto*, then lately issued :—

“The first portion of the document consists of a recital of propositions stated to have been made by me to him, and of objections entertained by him to those propositions. The Irish, as well as the British public, has a right to know whether I admit or deny the accuracy of that recital; and in regard to every one of the four points stated by Mr. Parnell, I at once deny it.” . . .

“I deny, then, that I made the statements which his memory ascribes to me, or anything substantially resembling them, either on the retention of the Irish members, or on the settlement of the land or agrarian difficulty, or on the control of the Constabulary, or on the appointment of the judiciary.”

“The conversation between us was strictly confidential. . . . To publish even a true account of it is to break the seal of confidence, which alone renders political co-operation possible.”

IV.—By Mr. John Morley.

Mr. Morley, writing to the Press on August 17th, 1891, in reply to Mr. Parnell's speech at Kells on the 16th, quotes his statement :—

“In my interview with Mr. Morley nine days before the verdict he left that interview knowing perfectly well that the verdict was going against me;” and replies to it as follows :—

“Mr. Parnell's own language on the occasion left me with the clear and undoubting assurance that the verdict would be not against him but for him.”

These quotations should be sufficient for the purpose. Mr. Parnell's interviews with Lord Carnarvon, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Morley were all confidential, no other person being present. He could, therefore, make any statement he pleased; but all three positively declared in each case that his statement was diametrically opposite to the truth.

But the political partisan, having read Mr. T. P. O'Connor's statement, may yet be hardly satisfied. How could Mr. Parnell venture to state what was false in the House of Commons, when he knew that it would be forthwith denied. The answer is simple : he had an object to gain. The simple-minded Gladstonian Radical has not yet fathomed the latter-day Irish patriot. In the last century Irishmen sacrificed their lives for their country ; why should they now hesitate to sacrifice in the same cause so small a thing as truth or honour ? The false statement was made in the debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill in 1886, when the votes of many Liberals were undecided. It was made, moreover, on the day fixed for the division on the second reading, the object clearly being that the division should take place, as it did, before Lord Carnarvon should have an opportunity of denying the statement. If the waverers could be persuaded that the Tories, when they got into power, were prepared to do the very same thing, it would go a long way towards securing their votes. This was clearly Mr. Parnell's object, and probably he succeeded to some extent, though not sufficiently to save the Government and their Bill.

The sole foundation for the implied assertion that the Conservative party meditated a surrender to the Irish has now been examined. But a few words must be said upon the other implication that the Conservatives were seeking an alliance with the Irish Party in 1885. In his chapter called "The Tory-Parnell Combination," every paragraph of which teems with fiction and fallacy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor endeavours to prove that such an alliance existed. The chapter commences thus :—"Throughout the whole Parliament of 1880 to 1885, the Tories and the Irish Party acted in close combination, except when the Government was proposing coercion"—(p. 264). A curious alliance, truly ! When the Liberals proceeded to coerce the allies of the Conservatives, they were helped by the latter. But the historian forgot what he had said on pp. 200-1. Mr. Parnell's Suspension of Evictions Bill in 1880 had forced the Government to consider the question, with

the result that Mr. Forster brought in his Disturbance Bill. "The Disturbance Bill of Mr. Forster was the Suspension of Evictions Bill of Mr. Parnell under another name. . . . Everybody knows that the Disturbance Bill was fiercely opposed, stage after stage, by the Tories in the House of Commons, that it was finally carried by overwhelming majorities, and that, when it went to the House of Lords, it was thrown out with every circumstance of ignominy and contempt." Again (p. 264), "Between the Liberals and the Irish Party there was absolute agreement on nine questions out of ten outside the Irish question."

How, then, is the alliance proved? Mr. T. P. O'Connor quotes from the addresses and speeches of several of the Tory candidates at the election of 1885, showing that they were in favour of an extension of local self-government in Ireland, and argues that this was "a vague term which might be enlarged to such a scheme of Home Rule as that proposed by Mr. Gladstone." But with all his audacity of invention he does not venture to say that a single Tory member, much less a responsible Tory statesman, ever said anything which indicated an intention of proposing a Home Rule Parliament, or anything resembling such an institution. He dwells especially on the friendly attitude of Lord Randolph Churchill during this period, who, he says, "did not dare openly to oppose Mr. Forster's Coercion Bill, but threw cold water upon it." Whatever Lord R. Churchill's views may have been, it is clear that, leading then the Fourth Party as a free lance, and being a thorn in the side of Sir S. Northcote and the Conservative leaders, his attitude, even if friendly, could not commit the Tories to a policy which would palpably have proved their ruin. In fact, the whole chapter, being a series of misrepresentations from beginning to end, could not carry conviction to any one, except a person who was already inclined to adopt the writer's view, and, therefore, disinclined either to test the truth of his statements, or fairly to consider whether, even if true, they proved his assertion.

But it will be said that the Tories and Irish Party constantly

voted together during 1880-5, and that therefore there must be some foundation for the statement so strongly made, and so constantly persisted in. The answer is not far to seek. The position was exceedingly simple. There was an appearance of union between the Tories and the Irish Party, arising from the fact, that, while utterly opposed to one another, they were engaged in conflict with a common enemy. Mr. Parnell's policy was to oppose every Government, until one of the parties surrendered to his views. But he never for a moment concealed his expectation that salvation was to come from the Liberals, and he was right in his surmise.

The Tories, on the other hand, being the regular Opposition, may be excused if they opposed with some vigour a Government, which, having come into power on a cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," was responsible for the disasters at Majuba Hill and in Egypt, and for the loss of General Gordon; which had run up the taxation to close on one hundred millions, and had postponed Reform until it was clear that they must be beaten at the general election unless they enfranchised a couple of millions of the least educated of the masses. The Tories naturally had no objection to support from any quarter against a Government which had thus lowered throughout the world the prestige of the English name. But they knew well,—indeed, no intelligent observer could fail to know—the record of the Irish leaders, and they never entertained an idea of entrusting the government of Ireland to a set of men, some of whom have since been convicted of treasonable designs against the State.

It seems to have already been forgotten that the following Irish leaders :—Mr. Davitt, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mr. J. Condon, Mr. M. Harris, and Mr. J. J. O'Kelly were, by three English judges, found guilty of having "established and joined in the Land League with the intention, by its means, to bring about the *absolute independence* of Ireland as a *separate nation*." If this is not

treason, it would be hard to say what constitutes that crime. Surely a heavy responsibility rests upon those who aid these men in their design.

Anything to win a vote! It suits Gladstonian speakers to say that the Conservatives were ready to support Home Rule. What danger can there be in a policy which both sides are, under certain circumstances, prepared to adopt? The falsehood misled many voters at the last election, and it will be freely used again. But the facts are slowly but surely finding their way into the minds of the English people; and the signs are daily becoming clearer that they will, ere long, inflict upon those who have deceived them the somewhat too mild penalty of exclusion from office for a further period of six years.

P.S.—Since the above statement was written, Mr. A. J. Balfour, speaking at Stockport, on July 1st, is thus reported in the *Daily Telegraph* of July 3rd :—

“I had myself an interview—private at the time, but which has since been made public, and to which, therefore, there is no reason why I should not allude—with Mr. Gladstone towards the end of that very year, in which he suggested that the Tory party should bring in a measure of Home Rule, and promising his support to them if they did so. That was what it came to. That offer was refused, and, therefore, the man who says that we were prepared, by the help of the Irish, to pass Home Rule in 1885, not only errs, but errs doubly, for we not only refused to do it with the help of the Irish alone, but even with the help of Mr. Gladstone also.”

As Mr. Gladstone has made no attempt to explain away this conversation, it may be assumed that Mr. Balfour's statement is accurate.

A
ROMAN CATHOLIC LIBERAL PEER
ON THE
HOME RULE BILL.

SPEECH BY LORD EMLY

(*Postmaster-General in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, 1871-3.*)

At the Balfour Demonstration, Dublin, April 8th, 1893.

Lord Emly, who was received with applause, said—During the delivery of Mr. Balfour's speech, you have already, in the most effective manner, expressed your thanks to him for coming here and addressing you as he has done. We cannot marshal here the battalions which he met the other day at Belfast, but representing as we do the great mass of property, intelligence, culture, and industry in the three southern provinces, we, at all events, can come before him and express to him our grateful thanks, and we can assure him that we are as determined and as enthusiastic in maintaining the great cause of which he is the principal leader as any other men in the world. (Applause.) I could discharge the duty that has been given to me far better if my right hon. friend was not present. But I know he will excuse me if I make some reference to his career in Ireland, because that career and that government of his was the most conclusive proof that could be offered of the utter fallacy of the argument of Mr. Gladstone, on which his proposals rest, namely—that Ireland is ungovernable by the representatives of the Empire. That, we know, is what Mr. Gladstone puts in the forefront of his argument, and Mr. Balfour's

government of Ireland is, as I have said, a conclusive reply to it. (Cheers.) This great assembly that I have the honour to address know well, for we have felt it and seen it, what the condition of Ireland was at the time Mr. Balfour came here. We know that at that time the law of the Queen was superseded by the law of the Land League. (Hear, hear.) We know that law was enforced by the most cruel tyranny, tyranny which extended not to the golden palaces of the rich, but to the poor, to the widow and to the orphan, who at the slightest disobedience to the order of the village tyrant were subjected to the greatest indignities and often to the most cruel persecution. (Hear, hear.) That iniquitous system in the southern provinces was directed by the Land League in Dublin, and the committee of that Land League which so directed these nefarious practices, are the gentlemen, who, if this detestable bill should, in the anger of God pass, would march from the Land League into Dublin Castle, and would be the first Cabinet who would have the control of the lives and liberties of her Majesty's loyal subjects. (Hear, hear.) What a monstrous thing it is for Mr. Gladstone and his myrmidons to accuse us because we are Unionists of not loving our country! (Applause.) Were those Frenchmen who resisted as best they could Danton, and those other precursors of the reign of terror—were they bad Frenchmen? I confess I have a strong feeling on this subject—an intense feeling—I feel bitterly the accusation. (Hear, hear.) I declare before God that from the time I first entered Parliament some fifty years ago—(cheers)—my earnest desire was—and I struggled for it in every way I could—to raise up my fellow-countrymen that were then downtrodden, and give them every advantage and every privilege that the citizens of the rest of the United Kingdom enjoy. (Hear, hear.) But, perhaps, I am carried away by my own feelings on the subject. (No, no.) Mr. Balfour had not only the tremendous ubiquitous power of this League to face. But he had also another difficulty to

contend with. I just said how long I have been in Parliament. I can recollect, of course, the conduct of the Opposition during the whole of that period—during the Chartist-Riots, during the Fenian Riots, during the Fenian Insurrection, during the Indian Mutiny and other desperate and dangerous times—(hear, hear). Then the Opposition sacrificed party to patriotism, and supported the Government of the day. (Hear, hear). What was the case with regard to Mr. Balfour's? Ex-Cabinet Ministers and Privy Councillors threw their whole force, and power, and prestige into the army of disorder. (Applause.) Didn't they thwart in every way the servants of the Government—(hear, hear, and applause)—and encourage disorder? (Hear, hear.) Mr. Balfour never flinched. He resisted them with admirable courage. (Cheers.) He brushed away their falsehoods and fallacies. What was the result of Mr. Balfour's conduct? The law of the land renewed its supremacy. Industry was revived. There was confidence everywhere. Men turned their attention from politics—this I know—I am speaking of my own country—they turned their attention from politics to industry. Take, as an example, the case of my own county, the greatest dairy county, I believe, in the United Kingdom, and I was informed only yesterday by the most competent witness that could be found that during the last years of the late Government more progress was made in that county in dairy industry than had been made in a quarter of a century before. (Cheers.) Talk of Mr. Balfour as a coercionist. Without in any way in the minutest particular touching the liberties of any one law-abiding subject of the Queen, he put down the most infernal system of coercion that ever disgraced any Christian country. Instead of being a coercionist he was the very Paladin of anti-coercion. Such are the sufficient grounds for our gratitude to Mr. Balfour as an administrator. (Hear, hear.) As a statesman he saw clearly that

a negative policy was not the way to resist the Gladstone policy. And he attempted to remove every distinction, educational or otherwise, that remained in this country from former evil times between the different classes of the people. Knowing well that the democracy of England would claim for their brethren here the same privileges that they had in England, he produced a County Government Bill, and he also directed his attention with success as has been said by you, sir, in your opening address, to the poorer districts. (Hear, hear.) He laid deep and wide the foundations of a system of land purchase which, when fully perfected, will make the majority of our farmers owners of the farms they occupy. I say this, of course, on the assumption that our union with Great Britain will not be dissolved. For without Imperial credit the funds necessary to carry it out could not be procured at a low rate of interest. I trust the day is not far off—I think I already see the dawn of the overthrow of these attempts upon our liberties and our lives. When that day comes, when this tyranny is overpast, we shall look to Mr. Balfour with gratitude as one of the men who preserved to us the inheritance handed down to us by our forefathers, and who helped to make solid our connection with that great country, to whose glories Irish blood and Irish genius have so largely contributed. (Loud cheers.)

MR. BLAKE AND QUEBEC.

[REUTER'S TELEGRAM.]

TORONTO, MONDAY.—Referring to Mr. Blake's speech in the Home Rule Debate in the Imperial House of Commons on Friday last, the *Toronto Mail* declares that although special care was taken on the establishment of the Confederation to safeguard the interests of the British settlers in the eastern townships of Quebec, which occupy in that province a position analagous to that of Protestant Ulster, the result has been far from satisfactory, inasmuch as the Protestants under Quebec Legislation are practically taxed out of existence. The veto, in so far as the Quebec Legislature is concerned, is (says the *Mail*), an utter sham. The journal concludes as follows—"Unless Mr. Blake explained to Parliament that the Confederation is harmonious only when it admits all the claims advanced by the Catholic Church, he gave the House a preposterous, misleading, and dangerous analogy."—*Irish Times*, April 18th, 1893.

A

ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW

OF THE

HOME RULE BILL.

MR. BARRETT, a Roman Catholic, moved a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had come from the North to address them. He was a Roman Catholic, he said, and in the most solemn manner he protested against the Home Rule Bill. (Cheers.) He did not say this for himself alone, but he echoed the opinion of thousands of his co-religionists who lived in the South. (Hear, hear.) The reason that the great bulk of the middle class of Roman Catholics were standing aloof at the present time was because they had a distinct recollection of the terrible time they passed through from 1880 to 1886. (Hear, hear.) They then passed through an ordeal that was, perhaps, unequalled in any part of the world. Roman Catholic men were dragged out of their beds at night and murdered in the presence of their wives and families. (Shame.) Roman Catholic farmers' houses were burned—(shame)—and they themselves were maimed and injured—(shame)—and their cattle were destroyed, and simply because these men would not become members of the Land League or subscribe to its funds. (Shame.) That was the reason Roman Catholics were not coming forward in greater numbers now.—*Irish Times*, April 13th, 1893.

THE ALBERT HALL MEETING.



On the 22nd of April a great meeting of Unionists was held in the Albert Hall in London. 9,000 Englishmen were in the Hall, and 1,200 men came from all parts of Ireland to explain to them why Irish Unionists do not want Home Rule. Some people in England, and in Ireland, too, find it hard to understand how a patriotic Irishman can be opposed to Home Rule. They think if an Irishman is a Unionist it must be because he does not care about his country, and is only thinking of some small disadvantage which Home Rule may bring to himself. The meeting in the Albert Hall was held to explain to everyone what the views of the Irish Unionists really are. We oppose Home Rule because we think it will injure Ireland. We think no class of Irishmen will be the better for it. Though we disagree with many of our countrymen in this, we sympathise with them at the same time. We wish as they do to see Ireland at peace, we wish to see it great, we wish to see it prosperous, and we do not like Home Rule, because we are convinced that it can bring neither peace, nor prosperity, nor greatness. The 1,200 Unionists who came to the Albert Hall were delegates chosen from every county in Ireland. They all sat together in one part of the Hall, and chose speakers from their number to address the meeting. The account of their speeches which follows is taken from the *Irish Times* of April 24th, 1893.

The first speech was made by the Duke of Abercorn. He said the delegates have come to London to protest against the Home Rule Bill, which they know will endanger the liberty of a large number of the inhabitants of Ireland. The Bill pronounces on Ireland the sentence of perpetual poverty. It ruins trade, it stops commercial enterprise. It makes over to their declared enemies that splendid body, the Constabulary, whose services have been attended with the best results, and whose only crime is that they have upheld peace

and order. It will shake to its foundations the great fabric of the Empire. The Unionists have met to express their determination to remain citizens of that Empire, and against that determination there is no political power that will ultimately prevail.

The next speaker was the Bishop of Derry. He said that it is a mistake to suppose that the Irish nation is asking for Home Rule, as a great body of Irishmen is determined not to have it. Irish Protestants do not trust Mr. Gladstone, and many Roman Catholics do not trust him either. We are told, indeed, about "confidence," and a great many other pieces of gush, but I tell you this— that a strong race can no more be confiding about its liberty than a pure woman can be confiding about her honour. Thank God loyalty has ceased to be a sectarian word. Noble-minded Roman Catholics are as loyal to the Queen and Constitution as are the Protestants.

Lord Fingall, who spoke next, is the leader of the Irish Catholic Unionists. He said Irish liberties are safer under the British Empire than they would be under any Government in the world. I am sure that Protestant England will increase her efforts in resistance to the Bill when she realizes that almost all the English Roman Catholics and a large number of Irish Catholics are bitterly opposed to it.

Mr. Robert M'Geagh, of Belfast, said, "Home Rule is absolutely unnecessary. Ireland has no grievance which the present Imperial Parliament is not able and willing to deal with. Ireland at present enjoys superior advantages, both as regards taxation and grants of public money, to those possessed by either England or Scotland. To give Home Rule would be to injure Ireland and to weaken Great Britain." He then spoke of Irish Parliaments as they were in the old days. Only one, Grattan's Parliament, was really independent of the Parliament at Westminster. Grattan's Parliament lasted for eighteen years. Only Protestant members sat in it. It was established for eleven years before Roman Catholics were even allowed to vote for the members. It passed fifty-four Coercion Acts, and it ended by driving the people into civil war.

The next speech was by Mr. John Atkinson, of Dublin. Speaking of the Irish Unionist Party, he said : It comprises almost the entire Protestant population. It comprises numbers of Roman Catholics of character, wealth, and station, who have had the courage to come forward and declare themselves, and many thousands more of that creed of humbler position who have been intimidated into silence and acquiesce sullenly in the misrepresentation of their views. We believe that in seeking to maintain the Union we are acting not only as good citizens of this great Empire, but as good Irishmen to whom the honour, interest and happiness of our native land are dear. We can quite understand that form of patriotism which desires to shake off foreign rule, to elevate Ireland into independence, and with all the rights and dignities of a nation leave her to defend herself by her own power, and shape her course among the nations of the earth. This has been the dream of some of her worthiest sons, men who have fought for it, bled for it, died for it. You may think them wrong, we think them misguided, but we cannot despise them as self-interested or base. But there is another form of patriotism as pure and worthy as that which inspired them, but infinitely more sensible and sound. The patriotism which sees no dishonour in binding Ireland to her greater and stronger sister in the closest bonds, enabling Ireland to enjoy her freedom, be governed directly and immediately by her Parliament, join in the making of her laws, be helped by her riches, benefited by her commerce, share her posts of emolument and honour, march forward with her in her progress, and help directly to uphold the sceptre which sways her mighty Empire. This is the form of patriotism to which we lay claim. But this Home Rule Bill is not the product of any form of patriotism. It strips Ireland of the rights, privileges and dignities of nationhood. It provincializes and degrades her. We are convinced from the experience of our daily lives, and from our knowledge of the men to whom power will be given, that the establishment of such a government in Ireland as is proposed, would be ruinous to her best interests, that capital and commerce

would be exiled from her shores, enterprise paralyzed, civil and religious liberty trampled under foot. We have ample opportunities of judging. None are more vitally interested than we. If we are right, this Bill is an infamy, the greatest misfortune, the most cruel wrong ever inflicted on our country. Our fathers have fought and bled in England's service. We glory in her greatness. We rejoice at her success. We wish her God speed in her great mission, and we implore of you who represent her people here to do justice to us.

The next speech was that of the Rev. R. M'Cheyne Edgar, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. He said: I have the honour to speak to-day on behalf of the Unionists of the South and West who are opposed to this measure. Though a native of Ulster, I have lived for nine and twenty years in Cork and Dublin, and can claim some knowledge of my countrymen both North and South. I make bold to say that the men who are forcing this measure upon Ireland are doing so in ignorance of our situation and our needs. As a general rule, all who have anything to lose are against the measure. I am speaking to-day on behalf of many Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. We are standing "shoulder to shoulder like the old brigade," against this measure.

The last speaker was Mr. Hall, a merchant of Cork. He said that what Irishmen really want is security and peace to develop the natural resources of their country, to make the most of their good soil and fine climate. Home Rule will bring neither peace nor security, and the Unionists of the South are determined to oppose it by every means in their power.

QUEBEC UNDER HOME RULE.

A LETTER FROM MONTREAL.

SIR,

MR. BLAKE has been urging, in his support of Home Rule, the analogy of Quebec. But Mr. Blake has not given the British public the facts as to the situation in Quebec.

The minority is practically unrepresented in the Legislature, the municipal councils, the civic Parliaments of the cities of Quebec and Montreal. The minority pay three-fourths of the taxes. The majority spend the revenue in ways and for purposes which have been repeatedly the subject of judicial inquiry. Quebec started twenty-five years ago upon her career of Home Rule with a clean balance-sheet. She now owes over 33 millions of dollars, and her annual expenditure exceeds her revenue by a million dollars.

Her legislators are men who, emerging from obscurity, riot in a barbaric luxury. The English language is crushed out in every municipality where a majority of French-Canadians can be demonstrated. Ecclesiastical and civil parishes are erected at the will of the bishops, and the Protestants have to pay for the support of Roman Catholic institutions. When the minority appeal to the Courts the reply of the Courts is that they have no jurisdiction.

The Protestant minority own the shipping, the railways, every form of enterprise, without which Quebec, left to the unimpaired domination of the rule of mediæval ecclesiasticism, would be as backward as Ecuador. These enterprises are taxed remorselessly, and the proceeds are spent in the corruption of the masses. When the treasury is empty the cry is, "Tax the English corporations." Outside Montreal the whole province is desolate. The rule of the priest has made Quebec a city of the dead. Its streets

echo only to the tread of the monks and nuns. The English have left Quebec. They are leaving Montreal. All cannot go, because capital is invested. They are being squeezed out of the rural parts. Isolated in districts where the French-Canadian farmers are in the majority, their position is made so distressing by the constant accents of a strange tongue, the studied attitude of antagonism on the part of the inhabitants, and the total absence of every element of social life, that they are glad to sell out to those who have envied the modern methods of the Englishman, and to whom the Church lends the money.

The Protestant population is leaving the province of Quebec as fast as it can. The eastern townships comprised the garden of Quebec before confederation. This district was inhabited by a community of thrifty Protestants. They are now nearly all gone. The Bishops ate into the coveted territory with their canonical and civil parishes, and the Protestants were frozen out. The English are aliens. It does not matter that by the enterprises which they are able to keep going under the most disheartening circumstances they give employment to the majority. In the language of Mr. Mercier, the ex-Premier, who restored to the Jesuits the estates which had been forfeited to the British Crown at the cession of the country, "a new France must be built up on the shores of the St. Lawrence, and we must, on this soil, emulate the deeds of our mother France."

In the city of Montreal the English pay three-fourths of the taxes. Their influence could not secure the appointment of a messenger in the Courts or the city hall. All the employees in the Court-houses are French. All the civic officials are French. The English citizen is served with his tax account in a language which he does not understand. Unceasing effort is made in the Legislatures, in the municipal councils, in the Courts, to discredit the English language. Yet the majority, which is thus endeavouring to extinguish one of the official languages of the province, threatens to throw off its allegiance if the province of Manitoba

abolishes French in that distant region, where the English are five to one.

During the past ten years the Protestant population has greatly decreased. Capital cannot always be easily transferred, and there are certain interests which must be maintained even though they may be constantly oppressed ; but those who can are clearing out and going. For in the province of Quebec we have the rule of the Pope. Cardinal Taschereau assists at the opening of the Legislature. No legislation dealing with education, or in any way affecting the power or influence of the Church, dare be introduced without the latter's sanction. When Mr. Mercier introduced his Bill giving the Jesuits half a million dollars (which the English have to pay) for their escheated estates, he did not hesitate to threaten the Legislature. "Remember," he said, "that every member who refuses to support this measure is under ecclesiastical penalties."

The country is covered with convents, monasteries, and cathedrals. There are over one hundred million dollars worth of exempted ecclesiastical property. The English have to pay for these exemptions by increased taxation. There is no power in the province which dare propose their abolition.

The Church controls the Legislature, the municipal council, and the Judges on the bench. Last week Abbé Pelletier, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, said, with reference to a case in which a layman seeks to recover damages from Bishop Fabre for placing his newspaper under the ban, and thus destroying his means of livelihood, that all who took part in that case, all who presented it to the Court, and all the Judges who might have the temerity to listen to the arguments or pronounce judgment were, by these acts, placed under the ban of the Church. In other words, the Abbé warned the Judges beforehand to tell the plaintiff that this case did not come under the jurisdiction of the civil Courts, but was a spiritual question, with which the Church alone was competent to deal.

But through it all the English are taxed and harried, in order that they may provide a revenue for a party which, alien in race and creed, makes open mock of the men whose industry is taxed to keep them in power.

This is the province of Quebec under Home Rule.

And this is what Ireland will be when Sexton and Healy have the shaping of its destinies.

W. LUTTON.

Witness Office, Montreal, May 15th.

—*The Times*, May 25th, 1893.



TO THE WORKINGMEN AND OTHER ELECTORS OF ENGLAND & SCOTLAND.

THE question that will be placed before you at the next election is the most important that has ever been submitted to the electors of this country. It is probable that the House of Lords will decline to give its consent to the Home Rule Bill until you have had an opportunity of considering this question. You will then be called upon to decide once for all: **will you or will you not break up the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland by setting up an independent parliament in Ireland?**

The vote of every elector is of the greatest importance, and your decision, when once given, cannot be recalled. It is right, therefore, that you should know the facts.

The people of Ireland are divided on this question.

The Irish Home Rulers who ask for an independent parliament are the same people who have always taken the side of England's enemies, and who have carried on the system of lawlessness which caused all the murders and outrages in Ireland in years gone by.

The Irish Loyalists, who entreat you not to withdraw the protection of British laws from Ireland, are the men who have always stood shoulder to shoulder with you against the enemies of Great Britain, and, while living quietly and making no noise, have created Irish industry and Irish prosperity.

It has been proved by the able administration of Mr. Balfour that the peace and prosperity of Ireland can be secured by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which Ireland is fully represented.

Will you break up this United Parliament, and hand over Ireland to the men who hate you and all who have stood by you?

If you do this you will, without a shadow of doubt, bring about the following state of affairs:—

1. You will create an Irish difficulty far exceeding in magnitude any with which you have had to deal before.

2. You will destroy Irish trade by handing over the industrious to the lawless portion of the people, and **you will thus flood England and Scotland with Irish labourers and artisans looking for employment.**

3. You will leave Ireland open to any foreign foe with whom we may some day be at war, as the government of Ireland will then be in the hands of men who have openly avowed their hatred and hostility to England, and who still maintain these feelings.

4. You will hand over the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of Ireland to the mercy of those men who, when murder and outrage stalked through the land, never gave heed to the bitter cry of man or woman in their hour of deepest distress. This would be a gross breach of national honour.

Every man of you who votes for a Home Rule candidate at the next election will be to blame if these things happen.

On the other hand, if you vote for a Unionist or Conservative candidate you will **help to maintain the Parliament of the United Kingdom**, which has the power and the will to pass good laws for the whole nation, and to maintain peace throughout the kingdom.

The Unionist Party are ready to grant to Ireland the same amount of local government which you have, but no more. They refuse to join Mr. Gladstone in setting up an independent Irish Parliament with the results above described.

Which will you have ?

Ireland peaceable and law-abiding, as it was under Mr. Balfour ;

OR,

Ireland separate from Great Britain, and torn by civil strife under a Home Rule Parliament, **over which you will have no control ?**

Consider this question carefully. The prosperity of England and Scotland, as well as of Ireland, and the lives and liberties of hundreds of thousands of your loyal brethren in Ireland **depend upon your votes at the next election.**

Act like men, therefore, and vote for the Unionist or Conservative candidates in your constituencies, and defeat the Home Rule Bill for ever.

Home Rule and Religious Tyranny.

What the Anti-Clerical Nationalist Party say on the Prospect.

LET there be no mistake on this point. *The self-constituted champions of religion and morality in Irish politics are committing a discreditable, dirty, tricky, and highly sinister act.* The common principles of honesty are, we submit, violated thereby. But this is not merely for the purpose of escaping the payment of just debts. The Meath Petitions were a party fight and the costs are a party liability. The second and not the least important object in repudiating that liability therefore is—*to intimidate electors from any future vindication of their political rights against the tyranny and oppression of political clerics.* To allow such a dodge to succeed would, therefore, be to throw away the fruits of victory in the Petition Courts, and—worse than that—absolutely to put a premium upon the repetition of these nefarious practices which were there exposed and punished.

“We have the M’Carthyite Party, which is clamouring for supremacy and for the executive administration in Ireland after Home Rule, boldly committing themselves to and *maintaining these odious principles of government* :—

“1st. That the right of liberty in elections is to be ground out of the people by the aid of political clergy employing their spiritual authority for the purpose ;

“2nd. That the process of resistance to that tyranny by any minority which cherishes freedom of election is to be made as dangerous and as expensive as the same party of oppression can ensure ;

“3rd. That when the victims of the despotism overthrow their oppressors in the courts of the land these victims are to be still

further fleeced by resort to bankruptcy as a means of escape from the payment of debt ;

"4th. That we have the expectant rulers of Ireland committed as a party to the repudiation of honestly-incurred liabilities, the bulk of which they are well able to pay.

"We submit to all honest men in the community that it is highly dangerous for the Messrs. Sexton, Dillon, O'Brien, Davitt, and their friends to be permitted to land Ireland into a system so disgraceful and immoral."—*Evening Herald*, May 29th, 1893.

"During the last two and a half years we have had ample experience of what men who dared to hold an opinion of their own on any question might expect if those who are now the camp-followers of the English Liberal Party had power to make good their threats and their fell intentions. We need not recall the lesson of the Meath elections, and of the petitions that followed. There are not many parishes in Ireland where the same spirit of arrogant domination has not been displayed by those whose mission is one of peace and love. Are Irishmen prepared to submit to the fire-to-the-heels-and-toes system of control? If they are, *let them abandon all thoughts of Home Rule. It would be no boon or blessing. It would be worse than the Curse of Cromwell.* He was content to ravage Ireland with fire and sword; he was known to show clemency on some occasions ; and he was content to slay the body without pretending to damn the soul. The despotism which is sought to be established amongst us is more far-reaching. It has no limitation. It strikes all, in all places and at all times, and in all the varied phases of life. Every village from Antrim to Kerry has felt its influence. Are we to invite further aggression on the part of those who have manifested this spirit of ecclesiastical supremacy in our politics?"—*Irish Daily Independent*, May 30th, 1893.

MR. JOHN DILLON. M.P.,

THREATENING VENGEANCE.

"I deny that I now entertain, or ever entertained, at any time throughout that agitation, a purpose of revenge, against those opposed to the people of Ireland in the recent agitation—(loud cheers from the Ministerial benches); and I confidently affirm that no fair-minded man could find justification for such a charge in the speeches which I have delivered, making due allowance for the circumstances in which they were made."
—Mr. Dillon, House of Commons, July 4th, 1893.

We give a few extracts from speeches spread over the four years, 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1889, showing that Mr. Dillon advocated the policy of revenge in the most deliberate way:—

I.—A WORD OF WARNING.

"I want to say a word of warning to the bailiffs and all that class of people who will side with the landlords in the struggle this winter in Ireland, and that warning is this, that there is no man in Ireland, England, or Scotland who does not know who will have the Government in Ireland within the next few years. I tell these people that the time is at hand, and very close at hand too, when the police will be our servants, when the police will be taking their pay from Mr. Parnell, when he will be Prime Minister of Ireland. And I warn the men to-day who take their stand by the side of landlordism, and signalise themselves as the enemies of the people, that in the time of our power we will remember them."—*Daily News*, December 6th, 1886.

II.—OUR PUNISHMENT.

"When we come out of the struggle we WILL REMEMBER who WERE the PEOPLE'S FRIENDS, and who were the PEOPLE'S ENEMIES, and deal out our REWARD to the one and our PUNISHMENT to the other. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, December 6th, 1886.

[In the same speech Mr. Dillon explained that by "the people's enemies" he meant "those who hunted down the People," i.e., the *Fenians*, "in 1867."]

III.—HIS LIFE SHALL NOT BE HAPPY.

"If there is a man in Ireland base enough to back down, to turn his back on the fight now that coercion has passed, I PLEDGE MYSELF in the face of this meeting that I will denounce him from public platforms by name, and I pledge myself to the Government, that, let that man be who he may, HIS LIFE SHALL NOT BE A HAPPY ONE, EITHER IN IRELAND OR ACROSS THE SEA, and I SAY THIS WITH THE INTENTION OF CARRYING OUT WHAT I SAY."
—*Freeman's Journal*, August 24th, 1887.

[NOTE.—This deliberate menace was not uttered amid the excitement of eviction scenes, but in the Rotunda, Dublin.]

IV.—HIS CHILDREN AFTER HIM.

"I say that a man who stands aside is a dastard and a coward, and *he and his children after him will be remembered in the days that are near at hand*, when Ireland will be a free nation."—*Freeman's Journal*, September 21st, 1887.

V.—HIT AND HURT.

"It is a *deep-rooted and ineradicable feeling* with me, that if I am engaged in a struggle I like to get hold of some weapon with which I can *hit and hurt* the enemy, and I am utterly sceptical of any policy which consists purely and simply in organization and in preparation, and in fine essays and songs."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 26th, 1888.

VI.—NO MERCY WHATEVER.

"And I say it is *my determination—which I have exhibited on more than one occasion*—not on many, but on more than one, when the occasion arose, to show *absolutely no consideration or mercy whatever* for the man who basely betrays his neighbours. . . . And when the struggle is ended, and the people of the country have obtained that control over their own affairs which must come very soon, he will be pointed out by his neighbours as A COWARD AND TRAITOR"—*Freeman's Journal*, January 16th, 1889.

[This was addressed to a meeting of 200 or 300 delegates at a National League Convention at Maryborough.]

How is it possible for Irish Loyalists to submit to be ruled by such men? Even if Mr. Dillon has forgotten his threats and his purposes of vengeance, the peasantry to whom they were addressed have not done so. The Nationalist papers in Ireland, so far from accepting the explanation, reproach Mr. Dillon with having made it at all. Truly Englishmen and Scotsmen will be mad if they hand over the control of Ireland to Mr. Dillon's party, and leave those who were loyal at the time of the Fenian Rising to the vengeance which awaits "the people's enemies."

MR. GLADSTONE'S DESCRIPTION OF JOHN DILLON. (JULY 24TH, 1882.)

"The hon. gentleman comes here as the apostle of a creed of force, which is a creed of oppression, which is a creed of the denial of all liberty, and of the erection of a despotism against it and on its ruins—different from every other despotism only in this, that it is more absolutely detached from all law, from all tradition, and from all restraint."—Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.

SLIGO UNDER MR. MORLEY.

A POOR-LAW Election for the Division of Cliffoney, in the County of Sligo, was held in the third week of March, 1893. The candidates were a Mr. Henry Brennan and a Mr. Pat Commins.

On the night of March 20th, as the time for collecting the voting papers approached, a crowd of the clerical candidate's supporters assembled, and visited the houses of a number of voters, with the object of obtaining possession of their papers and preventing the votes from being recorded. The nature of the proceedings may be gathered from some items in the sworn evidence, given at the Sligo Summer Assizes (July 7th), when three men named Waters, Higgins, and Timoney were put on trial for their alleged participation in the disturbance.

The extracts are taken from the report of the Assize proceedings given by the *Sligo Independent* of July 15th.

1. ATTACK ON JOHN M'CORMACK'S HOUSE.

John M'Cormack, a voter, swore that he was awakened between 3 and 4 o'clock on the morning of March 21st by a noise of heavy stones crashing against his door. He then heard voices demanding his voting paper. This he refused to give, and the stone-throwing continued. Witness was struck on the hip by a stone which came through the window. During the night the windows of the house were completely wrecked. Witness also heard voices threatening to **blow up the house**. After the crowd had moved off, witness went out and saw them proceed to Thady Higgins' house. Returning to his own house he found

His Wife in her Gore,

her lips injured, and her breast blackened.

Honor M'Cormack (wife of last witness) gave evidence as to **a man having entered her house, knocked her down, kicked her about the body, and smashed her lip**. From the injuries sustained she was confined to bed for five or six weeks.

John M'Cormack (son of the preceding) swore that he heard the paper demanded of his mother. The words were—"Give us the paper, or you will not get five minutes to live!"

2. ATTACK ON WILLIAM HIGGINS' HOUSE.

William Higgins, a voter, swore as to his house having been attacked about an hour before daylight on the morning of the 21st March. A party asked for his voting paper or the number. Thinking he recognized the voice of Timoney (one of the prisoners) he called out to him; but the parties continued the attack on the door and windows of his house. His wife pressed him to let her give up the paper, and then he told her to give it up, but not

through the window, lest she might get struck. **The paper was handed out to the parties under the door,** and witness never saw it again.

3. ATTACK ON THADY HIGGINS' HOUSE.

Thady Higgins, a voter, was sworn and gave evidence that a party came to his house about 4 o'clock and asked for his voting paper. He did not get out of bed to give the paper, and the next thing he heard was the crash of glass. His niece then gave the voting paper to a party close to the window.

4. ATTACK ON DANIEL WYNNE'S HOUSE.

Daniel Wynne, a voter, swore that his house was attacked and the windows broken, and his voting paper demanded. He refused to give up the paper, but he **became afraid, and handed it out under the door.**

Such is Freedom of Election in Sligo under Mr. John Morley.

The facts sworn to as above were not disputed. The Lord Chief Baron (a Roman Catholic and Liberal Judge) referred in his charge to the occurrences as conclusively proved. "It was a state of things," he said, "that would **disgrace any civilized country in the world.** And he was surprised to hear such facts proved to have taken place in the County Sligo, though **he would not have been surprised to hear it proved in some other counties** in which he had sat."

Two of the prisoners were found guilty. "The jury was composed exclusively of Conservatives," observes the *Freeman's Journal* of July 10th. The insinuation, of course, is that no Nationalist jury would convict for such offences. On this principle, what must happen to the rights of electors under Home Rule?

N.B.—**In the same week** in which these acts of violent intimidation of voters took place at Cliffoney there occurred a serious **election riot at Dromore West**, also in County Sligo, a report of which (from the *Sligo Independent* of March 25th) may be read in another leaflet (A 47) of this series. A mob, headed by the Rev. Father Kelly, there secured possession of several voting papers by violence even more outrageous than that of the Cliffoney rioters. **One voter, an aged man, was thrown on the ground and held down while his fingers were bitten and pins driven into his flesh** to compel him to give up his paper. At another house it became necessary to read the Riot Act, whereupon the mention of the Queen's name in the Act was greeted with cries of "**To Hell with Queen Victoria!**" from Father Kelly's following.

ABOUT ULSTER.

A NUMBER of grossly misleading statements about Ulster have been recently circulated by unscrupulous persons. They have been embodied in Home Rule Leaflets, and copied as articles into numbers of provincial Gladstonian newspapers. Their object is to persuade Englishmen and Scotsmen that the voice of Unionist Ulster is not entitled to be heard with the respect usually given to it.

To clear the ground for a fair consideration of these attacks it is best to guard against one source of confusion. There are two Ulsters. The geographical Province of Ulster contains nine counties; but three of these—Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan—are Ulster counties only in name. Like Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, they are occupied mainly by a Celtic and Catholic population. Indeed, Donegal contains a larger proportion of Irish-speaking inhabitants than any county in Leinster, and strictly belongs to the same natural region as Connemara.

The remaining six counties—Antrim, Down, Armagh, Londonderry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh—may here be called (for simplicity's sake) "Political Ulster." When Unionists speak of "Ulster" it is Political Ulster they mean. Political Ulster contains 76·3 per cent. of the population of the whole Province.

The misleading statements referred to may be taken in groups. The first group are designed to make it appear that

ULSTER IS NOT DECIDEDLY UNIONIST.

Statement 1.—Nationalists hold 14 of the 33 seats.

REPLY.—In Political Ulster they hold only 6 out of 25. And one of these is for the smallest Irish constituency, the borough of Newry, with only 1,875 electors.

Statement 2.—They hold some by majorities of over 4,000.

REPLY.—Not one in Political Ulster, and only two in any part. But in 11 of the constituencies of Political Ulster Unionist candidates were returned unopposed.

Statement 3.—They held not 14 but 17 of the seats until the election of 1892, when they lost 3 through the "split."

REPLY.—This is a gross fabrication. There was no split in any of the 3 Ulster constituencies which the Unionists wrenched from

their enemies in 1892. The "Nationalists" did their best; they polled every living voter of their own party, and, according to recent sworn evidence, every dead voter of both parties. They have no chance of regaining one of these seats.

[NOTE.—At last General Election (1892) the Home Rulers in Political Ulster polled only one-fifth of the registered electorate. Yet they hold one-fourth of the seats. This makes them the most over-represented minority in the Three Kingdoms. In the remainder of the Province the Unionists polled well over one-sixth of the electorate, but they did not carry a single seat.]

Next come a group of statements to make it appear that

ULSTER IS NOT REMARKABLY PROSPEROUS.

Statement 1.—Ulster's population, like that of the rest of Ireland, is decreasing.

REPLY.—The decrease is far less, and unlike that in the rest of Ireland, is confined to the rural districts. It should be borne in mind that rural populations are decreasing all over the world. But while the rural population of Ulster since 1841 has decreased only 32 per cent., the rest of Ireland has lost 53. The town population* of Ulster has, on the other hand, *increased* 98 per cent., while that of the rest of Ireland has decreased by 14 per cent.

Statement 2.—Ulster's rateable valuation per head is less than that of Leinster or Munster.

REPLY.—You cannot prove prosperity by a high "rateable valuation per head." The valuation is mainly upon the land; so that a high valuation per head may be merely a sign of thin population. To show how absurd this valuation argument is, it may be stated that Meath and Tipperary—the two most depopulated counties in Ireland—have each a valuation per head much above that of either Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorkshire. Indeed, the valuation per head of Meath is more than double that of Lancashire. If this is a test of prosperity Leinster and Munster need not wait for Home Rule to develop a "plethora of money" in Ireland!

Statement 3.—Leinster pays more Income-tax than Ulster.

REPLY.—It is most misleading to take the place where the Income-tax is paid, as if it showed where the income is earned. Leinster's Income-tax returns are high, because the income-tax on all official salaries, and on the profits of railways, joint stocks, insurance companies, banks, &c. (no matter where these profits are earned) is paid in Dublin. As Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., says: "There is not the least doubt that the income on which income-tax is paid is larger in Ulster than in any of the other provinces."

* For towns of over 2,000 inhabitants.

Statement 4.—In respect to house accommodation Ulster stands only third of the four provinces.

REPLY.—³This is not the case. She may be more fairly described as standing first. She has more houses in proportion to her population than any other province—her accusers of course take no account of this—and yet only 1·13 per cent. of these belong to the fourth, or lowest class of dwellings, while in Leinster the proportion is double, and in Munster treble that figure. It is true that the percentage of first-class houses (of course a small minority everywhere), is higher in Leinster and Munster than in Ulster. But in the percentage of second-class houses, which is of much greater importance to the bulk of the inhabitants, Ulster stands higher than either of the Southern Provinces. And if we go by counties, we find Antrim and Down strikingly ahead of the rest of Ireland in house accommodation, being the only two counties in which over 70 per cent. of the families enjoy first or second-class accommodation. In Dublin the proportion is only 46·1—lower than any Ulster county save Donegal.

[NOTE.—Although Ulster has the largest population of the four provinces, the number of persons receiving poor law relief in Ulster is *less than half* the number in Leinster or in Munster. Can it be maintained that this is not a mark of prosperity?]

A third group of statements is intended to create a belief that compared with the rest of Ireland

ULSTER IS BADLY EDUCATED.

Statement 1.—Her percentage of illiterates is exactly the same as in Leinster, and her percentage of persons who can read but not write is greater than in either Leinster or Munster.

REPLY.—These statements are literally true of the entire province, burdened as it is with Donegal, where 31 per cent. of the inhabitants over 5 years old are illiterate. But they do not affect the Protestant and Unionist population, for more than 72 per cent. of the illiterates belong to the Roman Catholic minority.

Statement 2.—“The proportion of persons who can neither read nor write is larger in each denomination in Ulster than in the same denomination in the rest of Ireland.

REPLY.—It would be hard to frame a more shamelessly deceptive statement than this, which is quoted verbatim from a Gladstonian leaflet. The percentage of illiterates in Ulster is 15·4, and in the rest of Ireland 19·9. So that if you leave out the words in large type from the above statement it becomes the exact reverse of truth; and those words have no value but to create confusion. So far as the various Protestant denominations are concerned, the source of the whole confusion is this:—*The Protestants of the South and West of Ireland nearly all belong to the propertied classes,*

whereas in Ulster Protestants of various sects form the mass of the working inhabitants. Hence it is no disparagement to this well-educated populace to say that it contains more illiterates than the upper-class Protestant community of the other three provinces.

A fourth group of statements is intended to show that

THE ULSTER PROTESTANTS ARE INTOLERANT.

Statement 1.—The Roman Catholics are mainly excluded from the public service.

REPLY.—Their comparative exclusion from certain departments of the public service is the consequence of their own low standard of education. Twenty-four per cent. of the Ulster Catholics are absolutely illiterate. Not Ulster Protestants alone, but Liberal Viceroy and Roman Catholic and Nationalist Lord Chancellors, have had to bow to this fact, by passing over Roman Catholic aspirants to the county lieutenancies, the magistracy, and other positions of dignity and trust. *But the insinuation that Roman Catholic workmen are excluded from public employment is a slander.* The Catholics of Belfast receive a larger proportion of the Corporation money than they contribute to the rates.

Statement 2.—Fierce anti-Catholic riots have recently taken place in Belfast.

REPLY.—These disorderly and very regrettable proceedings were the work of a minority, and were sternly condemned by the leaders of the Orange body.* No large town anywhere is without a pretty strong rough element, which in a time of intense excitement becomes difficult to control. But take the police figures for Antrim and Down, (the two most Protestant counties, which between them contain the City of Belfast), and the peaceable character of the populace will at once be seen. In each of these counties there are 12 policemen to every 10,000 inhabitants; in Westmeath there are 44 to every 10,000; in Limerick, 45; and in the South Riding of Tipperary, 49.

Unionist Ulster is therefore justified in her claim to be recognised as **the most prosperous, the best educated, and the most orderly and enlightened province in Ireland.**

* The Orangemen are themselves, of course, only a small minority of Ulster Protestants.

What Irish Priests are Taught,

WITH ARCHBISHOP WALSH'S APPROVAL.

The Rev. T. Gilmartin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Maynooth College, issued in 1892, shortly before his death, a "Manual of Church History," which may be commended to the notice of English and Scottish Liberals. It received the formal "Imprimatur" of Archbishop Walsh, and has been adopted as a Class-Book for Students in several Ecclesiastical Colleges. Here are three maxims laid down by the author in his chapter on the Inquisition (Vol II., p. 227) as "sound principles of Theology and Canon Law" :—

"(1.) There should be a union between the Church and State, as between the two great constituent elements of one moral body.

"(2.) This union must be effected by subordination of the one to the other, and not by co-ordination.

"(3.) As one of the powers, therefore, must be subordinate to the other, **it follows, as a matter of course, that the spiritual should rule**, at least so far as to define the limits of its authority, and direct the movements of the State according to the law of God as the human soul directs the body."

Such are the "sound principles" laid down for the guidance of the Irish priesthood at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Let us now see how the author proceeds to apply them.

"From these principles," he writes, "it follows (*a*) that **the State can punish heresy** as an evil in itself, and as an offence against the Church; and (*b*) **the Church can require the assistance of the State in suppressing heresy**, if its interference be deemed necessary for the good of society."

"Universal religious toleration," says Professor Gilmartin, "is impossible in practice." The Catholic Church "must be ever intolerant of heresy, as truth must be of error." (p. 226.)

Comment on these doctrines, emanating from the place of education of the Irish priests, would clearly be superfluous.

And yet Mr. John Morley asks—"What are the Protestants of Ireland afraid of?"

"THE SPIRITUAL SHOULD RULE."

A few illustrations may here be given of the "sound principle" quoted on the other side, as it is applied by Cardinals and other clerical dignitaries.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

(Under the Crown of Spain.)

"The religious processions on holy days are really noteworthy. During one of them, that of Corpus Christi, the Spanish Flag is laid down in the street, and the Archbishop walks over it, as a sign of the temporal power of the Church."—Mr. H. A. MacPHERSON, *Journal of the Society of Arts*, April 28th, 1893, p. 582.

CARDINAL LOGUE, ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND, ON THE RIGHTS OF ELECTORS.

"Of course I am aware that the doctrine has been preached in a very high quarter that a man can vote as he pleases, but that is a doctrine which Catholics cannot hold."—*Freeman's Journal*, May 18th, 1893.

ARCHBISHOP WALSH ON TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

"So long as that central fortress of the education that is not Catholic is allowed to stand, as it has now long stood, in the very foremost position, and to occupy the most glorious site in our Catholic city of Dublin, so long will it be impossible for any statesman, be he English or Irish, to deal with this great question on the only ground on which University Reform in Ireland can be regarded as satisfactory, or even as entitled to acquiescence—the open and level ground of full and absolute equality for the Catholics of Ireland."—*Freeman's Journal*, January 15th, 1886.

THE OUTLOOK FOR FREEMASONS.

"The attitude of the Church towards Freemasonry is once more made manifest by a recent decision of the Holy Office. . . . Between the prelates of God's Church and Masonry there can be neither peace nor pact. No circumstance can secure the secret society toleration at the hand of a Christian bishop."—*Irish Catholic*, June 3rd, 1893.

A NATIONALIST PROTEST AGAINST CLERICALISM AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

"No body of clergymen in Great Britain would venture to put forward such claims as some of the Roman Catholic bishops have recently advanced in Ireland."—*Freeman's Journal*, April 16th, 1891.

NOTE.—Eleven months later the *Freeman's Journal* Company paid down the sum of £36,000 to purchase "the goodwill of the priests of Ireland."—Speech of Mr. E. D. Gray, on behalf of the Directors, at Shareholders' Meeting, held on March 31st, 1892.

HOME RULE.

THE POPULATION ARGUMENT.

"THE population of Ireland has decreased from 8,295,000 in 1845 to 4,705,000 in 1891." This is put forward by Home Rulers as one of their strongest arguments. "See," they say, "what a terrible depopulation has resulted from English rule in Ireland."

English Liberals ought not to be easily misled. It is very foolish of anyone to think that this decrease in population is due to the Union. Why, if it were due to the Union, or to "English" laws being bad for Ireland, surely there would have been a far greater decrease in the population in the first half of the present century, when the laws were certainly not as good as they are now. But under those laws the population increased from about 5,000,000 in 1800 (the date of the Union) to 8,295,000 in 1845. Therefore we must look for some other reason than the Union for the decrease.

The population increased enormously up to 1845, because the people were content to live miserably on the potato. The continued failure of the potato crop gave rise to famine and to emigration to America and Great Britain. Again, the better education of the people has made them go to those countries, whose greater mineral or other riches afford a more comfortable existence. Where they have not emigrated, where the population has not diminished sufficiently, we have the congested districts, the misery of which proves that the fall in population is a necessary and very desirable result. Unless manufactures increase, an increase in population means a return to a degraded standard of life, just as the decrease of population has meant enormously increased comfort and prosperity for each inhabitant. For instance, the cash balances in Irish Joint Stock Banks have increased from an average of 15s. per head in 1841 to over £7 per head in 1891, and the deposits in Saving and Trustee Banks are now $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as great per head as in 1841.

The decrease in population is not confined to Ireland. It occurs in all agricultural districts in England, in Europe generally, and even in many Eastern States of America, and Canada; for example, the rural population has decreased even in the State of New York! There are two reasons for this universal decrease. The first is that agricultural machines now do a great deal of work which had formerly to be done by labourers. The second reason is that railways and steamers have greatly diminished the expense of carrying food from districts where tillage is done on

an immense scale, and very cheaply, by the aid of machines. Therefore the small farmer, who has to work a few acres, cannot make profits, or afford to pay good wages to his labourers, who, therefore, turn to something else. In Ireland there is another reason: the enormous English demand for Irish meat has led to tillage lands being turned into grazing pastures, which require fewer hands to work.

When agriculture declines, people leave the rural districts and crowd into the manufacturing towns in their own country or elsewhere. Now, Ireland has little or no mineral wealth, and no forests worth speaking of, so that great energy and thrift are needed to make manufactures a success. Even in the Protestant parts of Ulster manufactures have scarcely increased, except in those towns which are in easy communication with English coal. There, however, the growth has been very great. But in the South of Ireland manufactures do not thrive, even along the east coast, where Welsh coal could be easily got, and so there is nothing to depend on but agriculture.

Thus it is absurd to say that the decrease in the population of Ireland is a result of Unionist Government, or of landlord "oppression" or evictions, and that it would stop under Home Rule. In fact, the agricultural population is even now larger per square mile in Ireland than in England. If Home Rule meant the transference of the millions and millions of money represented by a share in the English coal and other mineral wealth, then there would be some sense in it. What it really means is, that bad laws are to replace good ones; laws made by an untried Legislature, the overwhelming majority of which will be elected by ignorant or ill-educated voters under the direction of the priests, are to replace laws made by the British Legislature, which is, after all, the fairest and the greatest Legislating body in the world.

Most of the people who vote for Home Rule in Ireland are the ignorant and thriftless, and they do not know what it means. They think that it will benefit them in some way, that they will be quite happy and well off when they get Home Rule. And their disappointment, if they get Home Rule and find that it does not do instead of thrift and energy, will be a new and most disastrous element in the "Irish Question." With a worse Government, and heavier taxes (under Mr. Gladstone's second scheme Irishmen are to pay the same taxes as before to the Imperial Government for six years, and the Irish Government is to have power to impose any other taxes it likes *in addition*!) the result must be that more Irishmen will have to seek employment in England and Scotland, and in America. Already the Irish in many English and Scotch cities have become very numerous. The effect of Home Rule must be largely to increase their number.

WHAT BRITISH RADICALS THINK

OF THE

HOME RULE BILL.

1. MR. LABOUCHERE, M.P.

"What many Radicals are saying is this:—We have fought during the last six years for Home Rule; it is likely that we shall have to fight on. **Is it worth while fighting on for a Bill which puts off all the principal issues, and which, consequently, if passed, will only land us in a long series of discussions upon these issues, to the exclusion of British reforms?** . . . I cannot help feeling that there is a good deal to be said against a policy which, whilst occupying time to the exclusion of everything else, leaves almost everything to be settled hereafter. . . . **Ireland will still block the way to British legislation after the Bill is carried.**"—*Truth*, 29th June, 1893, p. 1433.

2. MR. ATHERLEY JONES, M.P.

"The measure before the Committee means the necessary continuance in the House of Commons for at least six years of the chaos, agitation, and legislative obstruction which has stood in the way of any contribution to the demands of the English democracy."—House of Commons, 13th July, 1893.

3. DR. WALLACE, M.P.

"It is no longer simply a measure to give self-government to Ireland, but becomes at the same time a proposal to *take away self-government from Great Britain.* . . . It is putting Great Britain under the hoof of Ireland."—House of Commons, 13th July, 1893.

MASTERS OF BRITISH POLICY.

MR. MORLEY'S ASSURANCE.

"You may depend upon it there is no power which can prevent the Irish, if retained at Westminster, from being in the future Parliaments what they have been in the past—the **masters and arbiters of British Policy**, and of the rise and fall of British administrations."—Mr. Morley, at Newcastle, June 21st, 1886.

MR. GLADSTONE'S PROMISE.

"**I will not be a party** to giving to Ireland a Legislative body to manage Irish concerns, and at the same time to having Irish members in London, acting and voting on English and Scotch concerns."—Mr. Gladstone, at Manchester, June 25th, 1886.

ENGLISHMEN AND SCOTSMEN,

Mr. Gladstone is now inflicting upon you that injustice to which, in 1886, he gave his word that he would not be a party!

Under the Home Rule Bill, as amended, the Irish members are to remain in London,

WITH FULL POWER

to meddle in all English and Scottish concerns! Irishmen will continue to be, as Mr. Morley said, "the masters and arbiters of British policy, and of the rise and fall of British administrations!"

Irishmen are to have Home Rule, and rule you too!

[See what Dr. Wallace, Gladstonian M.P., has said, on the other side.]

Ireland is still to block the way to British Reforms.

[See what Mr. Labouchere, Gladstonian M.P., has said, on the other side.]

And English and Scottish money is to pay for all this—at the rate of £800,000 per annum!

WHAT HOME RULE MEANS.

IRELAND is only about three and a half hours distant from England by sea.

The population of Ireland is a little under five millions. One and a half million of these are Protestants—(Church people, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, &c.) The remainder are Roman Catholics.

Since 1801, England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland have been ruled by one Parliament—that is to say, by the British Parliament, which is composed of 670 members—465 English, 72 Scotch, 103 Irish and 30 Welsh, so that these Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen and Welshmen, all join together in making the laws for England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, which is quite fair and right.

But 80 of the Irish members say that the people they represent are not satisfied, and want to have a Parliament of their own in Ireland, and there make what laws they please independently of the English (or British) Parliament. The most part of these people who want an Irish Parliament are Roman Catholic peasants, and thousands of them are so ignorant that they can neither read nor write, but they simply vote and do exactly what the Roman Catholic priests tell them. The rest of the people in Ireland want things to remain as they are, and to be ruled by the English Parliament, as they have now been for ninety-two years.

Once before Ireland had a Parliament of her own, and this is what happened then:—The country got poorer and poorer, and the people were always fighting amongst themselves, and more than once the Irish invited the French to come over to Ireland so that the French and the Irish together might fight against England. At last there was a great rebellion in Ireland in the year 1798, when the Roman Catholics rose up and murdered hundreds of Protestants, and the Protestants and Roman Catholics fought against each other, until England had to send over an army to Ireland to put down the rebellion. And then, because Ireland had got so poor, and because the people fought so among themselves, and were so disloyal to England, the English Parliament said they would have the Irish members over, and all make laws together for the whole country. Since then Ireland has prospered.

Now Mr. Gladstone has brought in a Bill to give Ireland a separate Parliament again; but he says 80 Irish members may

still remain in the English Parliament. So that in reality the Irish would help to make our laws, but we would not have any right to interfere with theirs.

Then, as Ireland would not be able to pay her own way, Mr. Gladstone wants to make the Irish a present of £500,000 a year, which would have to come out of the English and Scotch taxes.

But the Irish Protestants, and some Roman Catholics, too, say they won't have Home Rule at any price. They say, reasonably enough, that their lives and property would not be safe, and that the country would get poorer and poorer, as it did before. That all the large manufacturers and employers of labour would leave Ireland and settle in other countries, and that Home Rule would be the ruin of Ireland. In fact they say they will fight if necessary, but they will never submit to a Home Rule Parliament.

Then what effect would Home Rule have on the English?

A very bad effect.

It would increase their taxes, for they would have to pay the Irish at least £500,000 a year—(the Irish are not satisfied with that amount, but want more). It would lower the wages, for the employers of labour say they will leave Ireland if the Home Rule Bill passes, and then the hundreds and thousands of people who would be thrown out of work would flock over here and flood the English labour market, and lower the rate of wages.

Finally, if, as is most likely, civil war broke out in Ireland, England would need to send an army to put down the rebellion.

So that Home Rule would mean

FOR IRELAND

National bankruptcy, war, bloodshed, misery, and ruin!

FOR ENGLAND

endless trouble, and a large expenditure of money, which must come out of the workingman's pocket.

The Irish Unionist Alliance :

AN ACCOUNT OF

ITS WORK AND ORGANISATION,

PREFACED BY

The Manifesto of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents,
and Executive Committee,

TO THE

Unionists of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

Pages 5-12 of this publication are compiled from the articles dealing with the work of the Irish Unionist Alliance which appeared in the "Daily Express" and "Irish Times" of Monday, July 3rd, 1893.

MANIFESTO TO THE UNIONISTS OF LEINSTER, MUNSTER, AND CONNAUGHT.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—The feeling of indignation and alarm which to-day pervades our country is a sufficient excuse for our addressing you in words of counsel and of warning.

The Prime Minister of the Queen, at the dictation of the party of Revolution in Ireland, has introduced in the House of Commons a measure for the subversion of the present Government of Ireland, and with indecent haste, and before the people of the United Kingdom can fully understand its scope and object, is pressing it to a second reading.

The Bill is one which, if passed into law, would paralyze commercial enterprise, and cripple, where it would not destroy, industry in Ireland—would lead to the expatriation of owners of property and employers of labour—those whom Mr. Gladstone has contemptuously referred to as “the classes,” and would thereby deprive the artizan and labourer—Mr. Gladstone’s masses—of their means of livelihood.

The attempt is made to force upon the country this measure, involving a grave constitutional and economic change in Ireland, and seriously affecting personal liberty and freedom of opinion, notwithstanding that not only the voice of England, but that of Great Britain, through her Parliamentary constituencies, has pronounced against any alteration in the legislative relations which have now existed between the countries for almost a century, and under which Ireland’s prosperity has advanced by rapid strides.

In no quarter of our land has that prosperity been more signally displayed than in the province of Ulster, and now its loyal and determined people, mindful that the interests of Unionists in the other provinces are as deeply involved as their own, have declared their fixed resolve to make common cause with their brother Unionists of the South, West, and East, in resisting every attempt to impose a Home Rule Parliament upon our country.

The sympathy of the North of Ireland we warmly and gratefully acknowledge and reciprocate.

Ulster has already taken steps for the purpose of effecting a Provincial organization.

If combined action be needed in the Northern Province, with its powerful and concentrated majority, how much more is it incumbent upon the Unionist communities scattered throughout the other provinces to act together promptly and effectively.

The Irish Unionist Alliance, representing Unionists of all sections and all religious creeds, and with its branches in every county, has grown in power and influence, and commands a position entitling it to speak with authority.

With a view to strengthening the Unionist organization in the South, and in order to insure united action where necessary, it has been determined that a register of Unionists in the three Southern Provinces shall be at once established, which will form an Elective Body for the choice of a Council to consult and act as occasion may require.

The time has now arrived when the Irish Unionist Alliance, anticipating a great extension of its operations, deems it essential to create a Guarantee Fund, which shall be applicable to all the purposes of the Unionist cause. The Plans for such a Guarantee Fund will be speedily announced, and a liberal response is already assured.

We, therefore, at this critical moment in the history of our country, most earnestly appeal to the Unionists of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught to forthwith register their names at the various branches of the Irish Unionist Alliance, or other Unionist organizations. Let us remember that union is strength. The struggle is arduous, and may be long, but we are confident that if we put forth our energies the victory will be for us and our children. It is thus alone that we can help ourselves, that we can duly respond to the proffered friendship and aid of our brethren of the North, and command the respect, the sympathy, and the support of Unionists throughout Great Britain and the whole Empire.

(Signed on behalf of the Irish Unionist Alliance,)

LEINSTER.
FITZWILLIAM.
ARRAN.
BANDON.
HORACE PLUNKETT.
WILLIAM KENNY.
H. GRATTAN BELLEW, Bart.
WILLIAM FINDLATER.
JOHN JAMESON.
JAMES TALBOT POWER.
THOMAS P. BUTLER, Bart., Chairman.
EDWARD DOWDEN, Vice-Chairman.
WILLIAM GEORGE COX, Secretary, Irish
Unionist Alliance.

DUBLIN, 11th April, 1893.

THE IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE.

WHAT IT HAS DONE, AND HOW IT WORKS.

The great and momentous political crisis through which the people of these kingdoms are passing has called into play all the energies of the various parties to the all-important battle of the Constitution which is being waged so furiously around us. Ireland, from whatever point of view one looks at the historic combat, is especially concerned in its result, indeed, far more concerned than any other portion of the British Isles. It is, therefore, natural that the political vigour of the people of this country should be continuously and, indeed, unceasingly tested by the foremost politicians in the different parties that politically divide Ireland between them. Unionists and Home Rulers have put forth their best energies, and, on behalf of the former, the efforts of the Irish Unionist Alliance have been distinctly felt.

Since the commencement of the Home Rule crisis the Alliance has been, perhaps, the very foremost agency of which the Unionists of Ireland have made use in their fight against Mr. Gladstone's legislative proposals. It was an organisation ready to the hands of Irish Unionists, and they have succeeded in making it the principal medium of bringing their influence to bear on the minds of their countrymen at home and their friends and opponents across the water—in fact to bring their whole influence to bear on the movement in the political world which is at present in progress. The Alliance, which had been working in a more or less limited way for some years, found itself called upon to become the organ of the supporters of the Union in Ireland, at a time when the forces on either side were forming into battle array for a great and decisive action. It was a large order, much too extensive for the machinery then in possession of the Alliance, but the call was obeyed, the leading spirits of the organisation felt that they were bound to extend their operations, to take into their counsels every man of

influence in every part of the country who would come forward as a volunteer. As the entire Unionist population of the country showed itself anxious to support the Alliance, the work of extending the machinery of the organisation was made a matter of comparative ease

To relate how the Alliance has worked during the last few years, to tell what it has accomplished, where it has made its influence felt, and how, to describe the manner in which it drew into closer unity the forces of the Union in the most distant and unknown parts of the country, and how the Alliance responded to all the calls made upon it by its adherents, would be to tell a tale told many times over, in the press and on the platform, and to write the history of the Home Rule agitation and of the electoral battles during the past two years. The work of the Alliance has been, in every sense of the word, effective—it was the directing, the controlling, the governing of a great agitation against the legislative proposals of the Prime Minister. All over Ireland the Alliance has become known. All over England its operations have extended. Public attention has been called to the great organisation through which the voice of the Unionists of Ireland, whether they dwell in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, has been sounded in every constituency in the three kingdoms.

It may be of interest to our readers to describe briefly the method in which the Alliance has carried on its work. By doing so we shall best be able to give some idea of the magnitude of its task, and the completeness of the machinery which its leaders have constructed to enable it efficiently to perform its work.

THE COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The supreme governing body of the Alliance is the Council, which only meets twice or three times a year, and is composed of the foremost men in the ranks of the Unionists of Ireland. But the body upon the members of which the duty of carrying on the actual work of the Association devolves is the Executive Committee, upon which serve men the most influential and respected leaders in the mercantile and commercial ranks of the country, men occupying high positions in the great banking establishments

and in the industrial life of Ireland. This influential and representative body meets twice each week, and they decide questions of policy and finance referred to them by the various sub-committees immediately engaged in the work of the Alliance, which is divided between six departmental committees. The work of the latter is reported weekly to the Executive Body. The departmental committees are admirably constructed, and they have each a secretary who is constantly engaged, under their direction, in the management of his department.

THE PRESS COMMITTEE.

The Press Committee, composed of men of acknowledged literary abilities, has entrusted to it the preparation and circulation of literature bearing on the Home Rule question. Some slight idea of the magnitude of the operations of this single committee of some nine gentlemen may be gained from the fact that since March last three millions of leaflets dealing with various phases of the question have been scattered broadcast by them throughout England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. At present the committee is engaged distributing 250,000 pamphlets in advocacy of the Union through the various polling districts of Lancashire. The constituencies in which bye-elections took place were especially attended to by the Press Committee, and every individual voter received leaflets by post from the offices of the Alliance. As questions arise in the discussions on the Home Rule Bill, such as the proposals affecting the Constabulary or the Civil Service, new pamphlets or leaflets dealing tersely and trenchantly with the subject are produced, and are widely distributed. Posters are also made use of extensively, and with much effect. Some of the leaflets have been translated into the Welsh language, and been distributed in the Welsh-speaking districts of the Principality. The Press Committee has also under consideration the issuing by post of a million and a quarter leaflets, a project which in postage stamps alone would involve an expenditure of £2,500. *NOTES FROM IRELAND*, a weekly publication which has done good service in the past, has been recently enlarged and improved. It gives as heretofore numerous extracts from Irish newspapers (chiefly Nationalist) illustrative of the work-

ing of the principles of the Nationalist party, and it leaves these extracts to speak for themselves, which they usually do with striking effect. A new feature of this publication is headed "A Diurnal," which gives a brief record, under each day, of "Events Relating to Ireland."

THE SPEAKERS' COMMITTEE.

Another Committee is the Speakers' Committee, and as an illustration of the work of the gentlemen who compose this department of the Alliance—gentlemen whose voices have during the last two years been heard in every part of the United Kingdom—we may give an epitome of their operations during June. In that month a staff of fifteen speakers addressed ninety meetings in different parts of England; meetings of business men were held in a number of important mercantile centres in England, and were addressed by deputations of Irish merchants. The meetings were held, amongst other places, at Stafford, Walsall, Wednesbury, Huddersfield, Carlisle, Whitehaven, Barrow, Wolverhampton, &c. Special attention was devoted to the election contests in Linlithgowshire, where the Unionists gained such an important victory, and at Pontefract, where the Gladstonians so narrowly escaped defeat. The strongest testimony to the value of the services rendered by the Alliance speakers in West-Lothian, in securing the return of Captain Hope, has been given by the *Scotsman* and other leading journals in Scotland. In addition to this army of speakers there are also now employed a number of men who may be described as colporteurs, and who go from house to house distributing Unionist literature. In conjunction with the Ladies' Liberal Unionist Association of England and the Central Conservative Association, the Alliance has a number of ladies at work "spreading the light." At present the Executive have under consideration the advisability of putting one or two Anti-Home Rule vans on the road. Each of these will have attached to it a gentleman qualified to speak on the question, and a man to distribute literature, and, of course, a driver. The expense of this undertaking is estimated at £500 per annum for each van.

THE BILL COMMITTEE.

The Bill Committee, on which the law is well represented, has charge of all the Parliamentary work. This Committee is in constant communication with the members of the Irish Unionist Parliamentary Party, who, it may be stated, hold meetings twice a week at the London Offices of the Alliance, and who are in this way furnished with information upon all the numerous questions which crop up at intervals in the discussions upon the Bill.

THE ORGANISATION COMMITTEE.

The Organisation Committee is, perhaps, the most important of the departmental committees, and its work is more difficult and extensive than that of any of the other sub-committees. The very important work of the registration of the Unionists of Ireland is the principal work at present engaging the attention of this committee. For this purpose a branch association is formed in each constituency or county, and each of these areas is split up into suitable divisions. Sometimes the parish, sometimes the polling district is selected as the most convenient area. In each of these divisions a district branch is formed, the Unionists of the district register themselves in their district branch, and it is forthwith affiliated to the Central Association. Every Unionist over sixteen years of age will be registered, and it is intended also to keep a register of lady associates over sixteen years of age. The Council of Organisation will be formed of delegates from the various branches, and each branch will be represented on the Council in proportion to the strength of its membership. The Governing Body will, therefore, be a thoroughly representative one. An excellent idea is to be carried out in connection with this organisation, namely, the formation of a number of auxiliary branches throughout Great Britain. With this object a strong provisional Committee is being formed in London, with the sanction of the Unionist members of both Houses of Parliament, for the purpose of dividing London into

suitable districts, and organising auxiliary branches. It is in contemplation to extend this movement to the whole of Great Britain. When these Auxiliary Branches are formed, it is intended to link them with the Irish organisation in the following manner :—A particular branch in England will be made the partner, as it were, of a particular branch in Ireland. They will mutually aid each other, and a concentration of energy will thus be secured, which will prove most advantageous, and which could not be obtained were the two organisations to be joined only in a general way. Each Branch in England will be brought into intimate connection with an Irish district, and it will be possible, without much difficulty, to receive and distribute information both in the sister country and at home. Some idea of the extent of the organisation as it already exists throughout Ireland will be gathered from the statistics given below, it being premised, however, that the work of forming branches is still going on vigorously. In the County of Carlow, in addition to the county branch, there are seventeen district branches, all in active working order. Clare has, so far, only one branch, with its headquarters at Ennis. The work of organising the County of Cork is progressing, and it is hoped that in a very short time there will be as many as twenty branches within the county. In East Galway division there are seven branches, in Central Galway nine, and in West Galway four. In the County Kerry there is as yet but one branch—that of Tralee. Kildare has eleven district branches, and Kilkenny has twelve. King's County has been for a long time well organised in both divisions, and good work has been done. In North Leitrim there is one branch at work, and in South Leitrim there are ten district branches. County Louth has nine district branches, County Longford eleven, County Mayo two, Leix division of Queen's County has six district branches, and Ossory division about an equal number. In North Roscommon there is a branch at Boyle, and a number of district branches are in course of formation. In South Roscommon division a branch has been formed at Roscommon, and district branches are being formed. Sligo has seventeen district branches, North Tipperary has eight, and there are also branches in South-East Tipperary and Mid-Tipperary. Westmeath has seventeen district branches, North Wexford nine, West Wicklow eleven, and East Wicklow eight, and there are also branches in East and West Waterford. A very full enrolment of

members is expected to be effected by the end of the present month, and it is intended shortly to publish a full list of the branches and of their officers.

THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Finance Committee is made up of men quite capable of managing this all-important department, and in their hands the finance of the Alliance is as safe as its most zealous supporters could wish.

THE LADIES' COMMITTEE.

The Ladies' Committee has been decidedly active, and has done much valuable work. Their chief task has been that of promoting the Women's Memorial to the Queen. This memorial will shortly be ready for presentation. The number of signatures already received in the office is over 70,000, and returns have still to be received from a number of counties. The ladies, too, have special charge of the distribution of newspapers in Great Britain, special attention being paid to constituencies in which at the General Election the majorities for Mr. Gladstone were small. Local committees of ladies were formed throughout Ireland. To each of these committees a constituency was assigned—the selection of the constituency being made by the local committees themselves if they so desired. Addresses are furnished to them, and to these addresses the committees post newspapers and send packages of various kinds of literature. Some members of the committee also write letters to local papers in the different constituencies, explaining and advocating Unionist views. The number of papers despatched each week by the Ladies' Committee from the central offices is about 12,000. Many of these are sent in small parcels to friends who have undertaken to distribute them in their several districts; others are addressed to reading-rooms, to hotels, to workingmen's clubs, or to individuals. The ladies also supply selected addresses to such members of the general public as undertake to post their

own newspapers, a record being kept of the addresses so supplied. It is calculated that the total number of Irish Unionist newspapers thus circulated each week amounts to 20,000. One lady residing in England, who has taken an active part in the distribution of newspapers, writes :—"The papers are most thankfully received, and are doing a great deal of good. They have created a great sensation, and are passed from one to another until they are worn out."

This, in short, is the work of the Irish Unionist Alliance—a work in the highest degree important. The Unionists of Ireland have given the Alliance a duty to perform, and its most strenuous opponents could not but say that that duty is being performed as thoroughly as possible. It is an expensive work too, but all work of the kind is necessarily expensive, and the Unionists of Ireland have not grumbled at the expense. They have generously and liberally contributed to the funds of the Alliance, and they had—from the fact that men like Lord Iveagh and Lord Ardilaun were willing, nay anxious, to guarantee large sums when the Guarantee Fund was first opened—sufficient assurance that the money would be spent in the way most likely to achieve the best results.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PROTESTS AGAINST HOME RULE.

In the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1893, Professor Dowden, LL.D., D.C.L., dealing with "Irish Opinions on the Home Rule Bill," writes as follows:—

It remains to notice the objections advanced against the Bill by the Roman Catholic minority. The free expression of opinion by Roman Catholics is checked by a system of intimidation and terrorism, of which abundant evidence has been in my own hands. Thousands of signatures have been attached to the Roman Catholic petition against the Bill; but some of these have been volunteered secretly and at night; others have been cancelled in consequence of the terrified entreaties of those who signed; others have been refused by persons who desired to sign, but who declared that they would be burnt out of house and home if they ventured to do so. Servants who voluntarily signed have, on returning from chapel, announced that they must withdraw their signatures or leave their situations. There is an impression abroad among the peasantry that the names will be got at by Nationalist members of Parliament, and that those whose names are attached to the petition will be made the victims of social persecution. Notwithstanding this system of terrorism, thousands of names already stand at the foot of the petition, and among those who, in a public circular, have invited their co-religionists to support the petition, are many of the most representative of Irish Roman Catholics. It may suffice from upwards of a hundred and twenty eminent Catholics who issue the circular, to give the names of Earl Fingall, Lord Emly (Mr. Gladstone's former colleague in office), the Right Hon. W. F. Cogan, Colonel Dease, ex-Governor of the Bank of Ireland, Mr. Aubrey de Vere and his brother Sir Stephen de Vere, Sir Percy R. Grace, a Director of the National Bank, Sir Richard Martin, ex-President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Maurice Murray, Director of the Cork Distillery Company, Dr. Cruise, and Mr. Daniel O'Connell, son of the Irish "Liberator."

The extracts given below are taken from published utterances by Irish Roman Catholics, all of them former supporters of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party.

1. THE O'CONOR DON.

"It seems to me that the proposed legislature, whilst capable of doing any amount of mischief, would be impotent for good. It would soon drive all industry, enterprise, and energy out of the country, and nothing would remain to be taxed but the unfortunate holders or occupiers of land."

—From the *Freeman* of 17th March, 1893.

2. MR. DANIEL O'CONNELL.

(Son of the Irish Liberator.)

"I am an Unionist for the simplest of reasons, namely, that I think Home Rule, if carried, would be not only very injurious to this country (England), but also most disastrous to Ireland. I believe my father had he lived at the present day would have been an Unionist."—*Kent Coast Times*, April 1st, 1893.

3. THE EARL OF FINGALL.

(The premier Catholic Peer of Ireland.)

"I prefer to follow the simple instincts of an inherited faith rather than the guidance of even such an intellectual giant as Mr. Gladstone, and thus I come by the belief that the Catholic religion is better safeguarded under the protection of the Imperial Parliament than it would be under any form of Home Rule Government which Mr. Gladstone can devise."—*Irish Times*, June 24th, 1892.

4. LORD EMLY.

(Formerly Postmaster-General under Mr. Gladstone.)

"I think I already see the dawn of the overthrow of these attempts upon our liberties and our lives. When this tyranny is overpast, we shall look to Mr. Balfour with gratitude as one of the men who helped to make solid our connection with that great country, to whose glories Irish blood and Irish genius have so largely contributed."—*Irish Times*, April 10th, 1892.

5. COLONEL DEASE.

(Ex-Governor of the Bank of Ireland.)

"The passing of the Bill would sound the death-knell of Irish prosperity, which is steadily increasing, and is only retarded by agitation or want of security for capital."—*Irish Times*, 13th March, 1893.

6. THE HON. GASTON MONSELL.

"Surely we have as much right—to say the least of it—to object to a Bill which might, if passed, make Michael Davitt Prime Minister of Ireland, as the Cardinal and Bishops have to follow the lead of the men who piloted the Land League, of the men who defied the Pope!"—*Irish Times*, March 21st, 1893.

When the Priests were silent!!

WHEN *Inspector Martin* was butchered on the steps of the Presbytery—

When *Joseph Huddy* and *John Huddy* were murdered and their bodies put in sacks and thrown into Lough Mask—

When *Mrs. Croughan*, of Mullingar, was murdered, because she had been seen speaking to the police, four shots being fired into her body—

When *Luke Dillon*, a poor peasant, was shot dead as he walked home from work—

When *Patrick Halloran*, a poor herdsman, was shot dead at his own fireside—

When *Michael Moloney* was murdered for paying his rent—

When *John Lennane*, an old man who had accepted work from a boycotted family, was shot in the midst of his family—

When *Thomas Abram* met precisely the same fate under the same circumstances—

When *Constable Kavanagh* was murdered—

When *John Dillon* had his brains beaten out and his ears torn away—

When *Patrick Freely* was murdered for paying his rent—

When *John Curtin* was shot dead by moonlighters, to whom he refused to give up his guns—

When *John Forhan*, a feeble old man of nearly seventy years, was murdered for having induced labourers to work on a boycotted farm—

When *James Ruane*, a labourer, who worked for a boycotted farmer, was murdered by three shots—

When *James Quinn* was wounded by a bullet, and while disabled killed by having his throat cut—

When *Peter M'Carthy* was murdered, because it was thought he meant to pay rent—

When *James Fitzmaurice*, aged 70, was shot dead in the presence of his daughter Norah, because he had taken a farm

which his brother had left, the latter declining to pay rent, although the landlord offered a reduction of 66 per cent—

When **Margaret Macmahon**, widow, and her little children were three times fired at, because the poor woman had earned a few pence by supplying turf to the police—

When **Patrick Quirke**, aged 75, was murdered for taking a farm which somebody else wanted—

When the **wife of John Collins** was indecently assaulted while her husband was being brutally beaten for caretaking—

When **John Curtin** (another John Curtin), a schoolmaster, was shot, and his wife received forty-two slugs in her face, neck, and breast, for something they had not done, the school also having been fired into, and all the children attending it boycotted—

When **John Connor's wife** was shot in the head by moonlighters, who wished to vex the husband—

When **Cornelius Murphy** was shot dead while sitting at his "ain fireside" chatting with his wife and children—

When **Daniel O'Brien**, aged 75, talking with his wife, aged 70, was murdered by a shot—

When **Patrick Quigley** had the roof of his skull blown away for taking some grazing—

When **David Barry** was shot in the main street of Castle-island—

When **Patrick Taugney** was murdered in the presence of his wife and daughters—

When **Edmond Allen** was shot dead because of a right-of-way dispute—(he was a Protestant)—

When young **Cashman**, aged 20, was beaten to death for speaking to a policeman—

When poor **Spillane** was murdered for acting as a caretaker—

When **Patrick Curtin, John Rahen**, and a farmer named **Tonery** were murdered—

When **James Spene**, aged 65, was beaten to death—

When **Blake, Ruane, Linton, Burke, Wallace, Dempsey, Timothy Sullivan, John Moylan, James Sheridan** and **Constable Cox** were shot dead—

When **James Miller, Michael Ball, Peter Greaney** and **Bridget M'Cullagh** were murdered—the last a poor widow, who was beaten to death with a spade—

When **Ryan Foley** was brutally murdered—

When **Michael Boylan** was murdered—

When *Viscount Mountmorres* was murdered, and the dead body left on the road, the neighbouring farmers being afraid to give the poor corpse the shelter of a barn—

When a car-driver named *Downey* was killed by a bullet intended for Mr. Hutchings, J.P.—

When young *Wheeler*, of Oolagh, was shot dead, to punish his father, who was an agent—

When all these murders took place, every one of them, and as many more, the work of the Land League, which also was responsible for more outrages and gross brutalities than the entire *Gazette* would hold—"then were the clergy silent! No denunciations from the altar! No influence exerted in the parish! In many cases a direct encouragement to persevere in the good path!" When John Curtin's daughters attended church after their father's murder they were attacked by a hostile crowd. The police were compelled to charge the infuriated mob, who otherwise would, in all probability, have consummated the good work of murdering the remainder of the family, after having in the presence of daughters, who nobly fought the murderers, assassinated the father.—*Birmingham Daily Gazette*.

BOYCOTTING

DESCRIBED BY ENGLISH JUDGES.

"It will be seen from these instances of boycotting, which might be largely added to, that it constituted **a system of intimidation of a most severe and cruel character.** It was directed not only against those who took land from which another had been evicted, but against every one who, directly or indirectly, offered any obstacle to the reign of the unwritten law of the League in the place of the law of the land. It was directed against those who paid their rent when others refused to pay. It was directed **against agents, bailiffs, caretakers, emergency men called in to prevent the land becoming waste ; against all who supplied food or even spoke to boycotted persons ; against those who refused to join the League ; against those who gave evidence adverse to those accused of agrarian crime ; against those who supplied cars to the police ; against the children of boycotted persons, and the schools they attended ; and against a school because an assistant teacher was related to persons who had offended the League.** The funerals of obnoxious persons were put under a similar ban, and even **coffins, or the wood to make them, were withheld from the dead.**

That this intimidation operated as was intended was proved by a body of evidence which established the various devices to which those tenants resorted who were willing to pay their rent, but who feared that by so doing they would bring upon themselves the vengeance of the League. Some sent their rent from a distance through the hands of strangers. Some sent it under cover of letters addressed to others than the agent. Some desired that no receipt should be sent to them at their known address, others that it should not be entered in their pass-books. Some paid their rent into banks to be thus handed to the landlord or agent, others to shopkeepers in the village. Some before paying asked that writs might be issued against them, even at their own cost. Some that judgments might be signed, and others that the sheriff might be put in. Some went by stealth to the rent office. Some paid secretly by night, and others walked long journeys to pay at a distant town. One man, who was a member of the League, **sent word to his landlord to meet him in a wood at night,** where he wished to pay his rent, which he did, the man saying, "**For God's sake don't tell.**"—Report of the Parnell Special Commission, p. 53.

Clare under Mr. Morley

CLARE is the part of Ireland which has recently been disgraced by the cowardly attempted shooting on May 5th of Mr. W. Bindon Blood (this being the fourth attempt near the same ground to take that gentleman's life), and by the atrocious shooting outrage of which Mr. Molony was made the victim near Ennis on the 1st of June.

It is clear from the extracts which follow that *juries in Clare will not and dare not convict* in any cases of this description.

The Irish Government have had for a number of years, and now have, the power to remove prisoners elsewhere for trial, with a view to *securing a jury not subject to local terrorism*.

But Mr. Morley, having proclaimed his intention of governing Ireland in accordance with "Irish ideas," refuses to exercise this power; and meanwhile leaves the inhabitants of Clare a prey to the cruel coercion of lawlessness, and reduces British law to a mockery, as the following extracts sufficiently prove.

A REIGN OF TERROR.

MR. JUSTICE GIBSON ON THE PREVALENCE OF INTIMIDATION.

In opening the Summer Assizes at Ennis, July 3rd, 1893, Mr. Justice Gibson made the following remarks to the Grand Jury of the County Clare :—

"The Constabulary returns of threatening letters, of which there are a considerable number, appear to indicate attempted intimidation in all departments of life. *People are threatened with loss of life* for sending their children to an odious school; people are threatened with loss of life for being on friendly terms with the servants in a mansion. There is the usual amount of intimidation for turbary and in connection with evicted farms, and there are cases in which death was threatened because people

signed a petition in a particular instance against the Home Rule Bill. It is impossible, from reading the returns, to escape the conclusion that *there is a widespread intimidation and terror* prevailing in Clare, and that much of the crime is caused and worked by the motive of insuring the effectual operations of that terror. I am afraid that the intimidation is not only intimidation of prosecutors and witnesses, but that it may be sometimes found even infecting and invading the jury-box, and where this is so it leads to a very terrible situation. When prosecutions will probably or certainly prove abortive, it gives confidence and hardihood to criminals, and tends to relax—I do not say it does relax—the efforts of the police. . . . *It is a sad and scandalous state of society where the law cannot be enforced.* It might be better even that there should be no law than the semblance of law in certain cases which cannot be executed.”

—*Irish Times*, July 4th, 1893.

TRIAL BY JURY IN CLARE.

JUDGE KELLY ON CLARE JURIES.

At the opening of the Ennis Summer Quarter Sessions, on Monday, June 12th, 1893, his Honor, Judge Kelly, briefly referred to the state of Clare, saying that he did not believe that in any country in the world such a state of things existed as in that county. It was painful to contemplate such a condition. It was the fault of someone, but who was to blame he did not know. *Trial by jury there was a farce. The jurors were canvassed in Court, and when they went out or went home they drank with the prisoners.*

Mr. J. F. Cullinan, S.C.S.—That being the opinion of the Court, in which I entirely concur, I will ask you to send them to the Assizes.

His Honor—*I will try no case by jury. It is perfect nonsense to do so here,* as I have said before. It is a disgrace to the County Clare. I pity the jurors very much, as I know very well they are afraid. There is no chance they will find the prisoners guilty.

The defendants were then put back to the Assizes.

—*Freeman's Journal*, June 14th, 1893.

WHAT HAPPENED AT THE ASSIZES?

On Tuesday, July 4th, Daniel M'Inerney, Thomas Liddy, Simon Minogue, William Macnamara, Michael Macnamara, and James Lynch were charged with resistance to the Sub-sheriff.

There was no evidence for the defence.

The Jury, after an hour's absence, returned with a verdict of "Not Guilty."

His Lordship (Mr. Justice Gibson)—I'm afraid that verdict is a great scandal on the administration of justice.

—*Daily Express*, July 5th. 1893.

On Wednesday, July 5th, James Liddy, Daniel and James Hussey, Daniel MacMahon, and Patrick Moloney were charged with riotous and unlawful assembly.

There was no evidence for the defence.

His Lordship, in charging the jury, said he would not be doing his duty if he did not tell them there was conclusive evidence against the prisoners.

The Jury brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty."

—*Daily Express*, July 6th, 1893.

While the Jury were "considering their verdict" in the last-mentioned case, John Nugent, John Wiley, John Callaghan, Denis Doherty, John Moroney, and John Molony were charged with riotous assembly and assault.

Mr. Justice Gibson said he would not go through the form of charging the jury at any length. The prisoner's counsel seemed to be merely going through a comedy. The case was the clearest one of violation of the law that he ever recollected. They could not, in his opinion, acquit the accused without violating their oaths.

It was at this stage that the Jury in the Liddy case brought in their verdict of "Not Guilty."

Mr Justice Gibson—What is the use of going on? What is the use of wasting time with them, when they are all the same. Such a travesty is perfectly melancholy. I will only say that a great responsibility rests on some one in these cases.

The Jury in the third case stated that they were unable to agree, and were discharged.

—*Daily Express*, July 6th, 1893.

In reference to these and similar cases, the Grand Jury at the close of the Assizes adopted the following resolution :—

“ We wish to draw attention to the failure of justice that is now of constant occurrence in Clare, owing to the fact that the jurors will not convict in certain cases ; and we wish to point out that *the Government can easily remedy that evil by reviving the powers that they have of changing the venue in criminal cases.* This has been already pointed out to the Government by a meeting of Clare magistrates held in the early part of the year. We fail to see why, under the particular condition of Clare at present, there is not a single soldier stationed therein.”

—*Daily Express*, July 7th, 1893.

“ I admit that the state of Clare is a disgrace to a civilized country.”—Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., House of Commons, July 7th, 1893.

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE.

HOW IT IS FOSTERED BY THE PRIESTHOOD IN IRELAND.

CARDINAL LOGUE.

"Of course I am aware that the doctrine has been preached in a very high quarter that a man can vote as he pleases, but that is a doctrine which Catholics cannot hold."—Speech at Dungannon (*Freeman's Journal*, May 18th, 1893.)

A NORTH MEATH PRIEST.

"I saw Owen Reilly knocked down by Father Clarke. Reilly said that every one should be allowed to vote according to his conscience. Then Father Clarke said 'Withdraw those words;' and when I looked round Reilly was on the ground, and appeared insensible."—Evidence of Anthony Smith, North Meath Election Petition.

A TIPPERRARY PRIEST.

"The fact that a meeting of Unionists had been held in the Town Hall ought not to be passed over in silence. If the Unionist minority were determined on rising up in hostility to their Catholic brethren, really, without mincing matters in the least, these people ought to be prepared for the consequences. If the Protestants of the South of Ireland, who had had more toleration than any other minority in the world, would now oppose the onward march of the Irish people, the Protestants should not expect a continuance of the friendliness they had experienced in the past."—Very Rev. Dr. White, P.P., Vicar-General, at Nenagh, March 24th, 1893.—*Freeman's Journal*, March 27th.

A CLERICAL JOURNAL.

"The woes of Ireland are all due to one simple cause—the existence of Protestantism in Ireland. Would that every Protestant house were swept from the land; then would Ireland recover herself."—*Catholic Progress* (the organ of the Jesuits), June, 1882.

LETTER FROM THE
Professor of Mental & Moral Philosophy,
MAYNOOTH COLLEGE,
WHERE THE IRISH PRIESTS ARE EDUCATED!

At Lucan Petty Sessions on Tuesday, May 11th, 1893, the Rev. Thos. E. Judge, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, was summoned by Lieutenant Sergison, of the Scots Guards, Deputy-Lieutenant and J.P. for Sussex, for trespass and for threatening language.

Mr. Sergison deposed that when walking through his demesne on April 18th he saw the rev. defendant riding on a footpath near the river, where people belonging to the locality had permission to walk, but not to ride, it being considered a dangerous practice to ride on the path beside the river. When requested to leave he declined to do so, and on his return to Maynooth he wrote the following letter:—

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
18th April, 1893.

SIR,—This letter is from the clergyman whom you grossly insulted in Colonel Vesey's demesne to-day at 3.30 p.m. He has learned on inquiry that you attempted arrogantly to exercise proprietary rights beyond the limits of your tenure. He wishes to inform you that unless an ample apology be immediately forthcoming he will communicate with your superior officers. He will, furthermore, send a copy of this correspondence to the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour, who visited Maynooth College some days ago, and who had then an opportunity of contrasting the native urbanity of Irishmen with the boorishness of parasitic foreigners. It would, indeed, be rash to expect tranquillity in Ireland while such a bilious deposit as **you are reposes on the national stomach.** He will also avail himself of the earliest opportunity of making the Duke of Leinster acquainted with your antics. Do not mistake the main issue; it will be decided by your superior officers if the request be not complied with.—Yours, &c.,

THOMAS E. JUDGE,
Professor Ment. Moral Phil., Maynooth College.

P.S.—This letter has had to be written in haste; the author claims **indulgence only for the penmanship.**—T. E. J.

This letter was produced in court. Such is the language of the Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, the exclusive control of which was handed over by Mr. Gladstone in 1869 to the Irish Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics, the annual grant being capitalised by the payment of a sum of £372,000.

This letter appears in the *Irish Times*, *Daily Express*, and *Daily Independent* (Parnellite), of the 10th May, but, of course, not in the *Freeman's Journal*, the organ of the M'Carthyite party.

IRISH FARMERS, READ

CLAUSE XVI., SECTION 3, OF THE HOME RULE BILL.

"After the appointed day money for **Loans in Ireland shall cease** to be advanced either by the Public Works Loan Commissioners or out of the Local Loans Fund."

ALSO READ

What the *Tuam Herald* (Nationalist) of September 10th, 1892, said on the subject of these loans, of which we shall get no more if Home Rule passes :—

"We strongly advise Irish Farmers to dip their hands deeply into the British Exchequer and get as much money as they can while yet it is time. **The Irish Exchequer will have need of all its available capital**, and more than its probable credit, for works of a more extensive, enduring, national kind, and **it cannot afford to find money as it is found at present for separate individual improvement work upon Irish farms.** Even if it could, of course the Irish Exchequer will never be able to lend that money for such purposes on as cheap terms as can the richest country in the world do so. England can command millions at two and three-quarters per cent., and a native Exchequer must only content itself with paying and exacting perhaps double that rate of interest. That circumstance alone must be faced, and we wish the sensible men of the country would take it into their consideration and act accordingly."

THE SHADOW OF HOME RULE.

I beg to inform you that a company of English capitalists were about to purchase the "South Sloblands," Wexford (2,300 acres), grow sugar beet, and erect a factory for the manufacture of sugar, with a capital of £150,000.

The agent writes, March 8, 1893—"I don't think there is the least chance of the 'sugar' coming to anything, owing to the state of the unfortunate country. If this Home Rule Bill becomes law, then God help Ireland," &c.

And March 15, 1893—"This Home Rule Bill seems to have upset business to a considerable extent on this side of the water, as well as on yours," &c.—Yours, &c.,

J. WOODWARD STANFORD.

Lucan, County Dublin, April 5, 1893.

—*Irish Times*, 6th April, 1893.

A FARMER'S LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—The Home Rule Bill has been so universally condemned that it is time to ask who are those that support it? Already we see with pain its evil effects on our bank and other shares. Our leading merchants and business men condemn it as a measure certain to ruin commerce, and as a farmer, and speaking on behalf of hundreds of men similarly situated, I assert that it means destruction to us; for while the landlords who have scarcely received fair treatment latterly, and merchants who dread heavy taxation, can, and will leave our country, we farmers, who have our all invested in the land, cannot do so, but must remain to be fleeced by those agitators, who have no other administrative ability beyond that which they have displayed in the erection of New Tipperary, and the rise and fall of the Plan of Campaign, not to mention their scandalous language to each other.

May God avert the ruin which now threatens our Green Isle, is the earnest wish of an Irish Farmer.

DAVID MAGEE.

Clonkeen, Killeshandra, April 14.

—*Irish Times*, 17th April, 1893.

An English Congregationalist

ON THE

Home Rule Bill.

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ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION

An English Congregationalist on the Home Rule Bill.

37 St. Alban's Road, Leicester,

25th May, 1893.

I beg to thank you for the literature which you have sent me indicating the position of Ulster with regard to the Irish question, and in response to your request I have much pleasure in sending you my own reasons for rejecting the Home Rule Bill of 1893.

1.—It does not secure the five points.

The five conditions laid down by Mr. Gladstone as the *sine qua non* of any Home Rule Bill, and the points upon which the verdict of the electors was given in 1892, were as follows. I give them in Mr. Gladstone's own words :—

1. Full and effective maintenance of the supremacy of Imperial Parliament.
2. Fair adjustment of pecuniary burdens.
3. Special care of minorities.
4. No principle to be laid down for Ireland which should not equally apply to England, Scotland, and Wales.
5. The proposal to be no mere piecemeal, half-way measure, but to embody a final and permanent settlement of a long and inveterate controversy.

It is a singular thing, but in my judgment not one of these conditions is secured by the present Home Rule Bill. There is no guarantee that the supremacy of Parliament will be effectively maintained. The financial clauses have been practically withdrawn. The antagonism of Ulster shows that in her judgment the protection afforded to the minority is inadequate. Until we know for certain that the Irish representatives are not to be withdrawn from Westminster we cannot say that the principle of the measure is applicable to the three remaining Kingdoms. And so far from achieving a final and permanent settlement, the Bill appears destined rather to plunge the people of Ireland into the horrors of civil war.

2.—It is not supported by Arguments.

I have read carefully the debates in Parliament upon the Bill, and I am bound to say that, so far as I can judge, the whole of the argument is on the side of the Opposition. No attempt is made to answer them. The calm, deliberate, logical appeal of Mr. Courtney is met by the closure. The searching criticism of Mr. Chamberlain is set aside by a magnificent display of rhetoric. The only sort of defence which is set up is an appeal to power—"The country has decided. We have a majority, and we mean to carry it through."

3.—It establishes Government by Ascendency.

One of the chief arguments in favour of Home Rule is that which is based on the fact of English misgovernment in the past. In his preface to "Two Centuries of Irish History," Mr. Bryce points out that government by ascendency is the worst of all possible forms of government, and adduces this fact as the explanation of the failure of England to govern Ireland. But at the present moment every vestige of government by ascendency has disappeared. The scales of justice are evenly balanced, and it is impossible to point to a single instance of favouritism or injustice. If, however, the Home Rule Bill should become law, the line of cleavage will probably remain much the same as at present, and the Nationalist Party of 80 will have absolute control over the lives and property of the Ulster opposition of 23. A government by ascendency will be established, and that an ascendency of the worst possible type.

4.—It ignores the Principle of Evolution.

Every political principle is relative to the condition of the people to be governed. The more advanced the stage of civilisation and culture attained, the more advanced and the more democratic must the form of government become. The principle of Representative Government is the true principle of government for every nation that is ripe for it. But no sane politician would advocate its adoption for India or Honolulu, nor would anyone say that what is right for England in the 19th century would have been wise and politic in the 13th century. After representative government comes local self-government, national, provincial, and parochial autonomy, local powers being devolved upon local authorities in the order and proportion of their capacity to discharge the duties and to bear the responsibilities committed to them.

Judged by this standard London, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and England generally should have been the first to be entrusted with these special powers, and Ireland the last. But here is a measure which

proposes to reverse the natural order, and give to Ireland powers that are withheld from London. The population of London is almost exactly the same as that of Ireland. Its wealth, intelligence, its number of public men, and its general capacity and preparedness for self-government, are far ahead of that of Ireland, and yet this Bill proposes to delegate to an Irish Legislature powers which no one in his senses would think of giving to the London County Council.

Mr. Gladstone accuses his opponents of wishing to treat the Irish people as children, of regarding them as something less than human, of deliberately endeavouring to "depress them below the standard level of civilised mankind." But the fact is just the other way. It is Mr. Gladstone who is treating the people of England as if they were less advanced and less prepared for self-government than the people of Ireland. Nationalist Ireland is a Catholic country. England is a Protestant country, and Protestantism means an advance in the direction of independence, self-reliance, and self-government. Nationalist Ireland is an agricultural country. England is largely a manufacturing and a mercantile country. Of the electors of Ireland in 1892, 84,919, or about one man in every five, pleaded illiterate, unable to read or write. All these things show that Ireland has not arrived at the same stage of political enlightenment and capacity for self-government that England has. To give Home Rule to Ireland before giving it to England is to ignore the principle of evolution, and put the cart before the horse.

5.—It springs out of English apathy.

I believe the policy of the Gladstonian party is dictated rather by a desire to get rid of the Irish difficulty so as to be able to get on with English reforms than from any clear and reasoned convictions as to the benefits likely to flow from it. The object is to shelve the responsibilities and the difficulties of a seemingly interminable conflict, in which they have no real interest, on to other shoulders, in order to clear the ground for the passage of those measures upon which their heart is set.

6.—It is based upon an abuse of the principle of Representative Government.

England returns a large majority against Home Rule. So does Great Britain. It is the Irish vote which constitutes the majority in favour of Home Rule. But Ireland is over-represented. According to the number of English and Irish electors, England should have 35 more members and Ireland should have 23 less. Let there be a proper apportionment of seats, and what becomes

of Mr. Gladstone's majority, which is practically the only real and solid argument in favour of the Bill?

* * * * *

It remains to be seen whether the principle of representative government is compatible with the profession of the Roman Catholic religion. Where you have men of independent judgment, men who have a mind and a will of their own, there is always something to represent. But where a man's conscience is in the keeping of another, and when his vote is given in obedience to the dictate of another, it is not the people but the priest whose voice is delivered at the polls.

7.—It embodies a policy of despair.

It is said by Mr. Gladstone that all previous attempts to govern Ireland have ended in failure. We are not capable of devising just and wise laws which shall obtain the assent and command the conscience of the people. Therefore we give it up in despair. Let them govern themselves. This only shows the depth of degradation into which Gladstonian politics have fallen. The alternative is "out of the frying-pan into the fire."

8.—It is defended by an appeal to cowardice.

"What," we are asked, "is your alternative policy? The cup has been raised to their lips. You would dash it to the ground. What exasperation, what crime, what outrage will follow the disappointment which is sure to ensue?" So, then, we are to be deterred from doing what we believe to be just and right because of the conduct of evil-doers, and the law is to be a terror to us instead of to them. This is what I call cowardice. We must do the right because it is right. We are willing to take the consequences.

9.—It puts a premium on outrage and crime.

Mr. Gladstone stated in his speech on the second reading of the Bill that if there had been no Land League there would have been no Land Act of 1881. According to this theory the people who make the biggest clamour and perpetrate the grossest outrages are the men who are to be most favourably dealt with. The more you murder the more you will get.

10.—It involves injustice to Ulster, and necessitates a return to coercion.

In England, where political parties are pretty evenly balanced, it is impossible for one party to ride the high horse and perpetrate injustice upon the other. There is no impassable gulf between the two parties, and any high-handed procedure on either side would be visited at the next election by dismissal from office. In Ireland,

however, representative government would not work. There would be a distinct line of cleavage between the two parties—eighty Nationalists against twenty-three Loyalists. Differences of race and religion would make it impossible for men to change lightly from one side to the other. No matter how grossly unjust the action of the majority might be they could never be turned out of power. They might levy a graduated income tax that would fall almost exclusively upon the Loyalists, or they might in various other ways legislate the property of their political opponents into their own pockets. And against this injustice there would be practically no redress and no appeal, without dragging the whole question into the Imperial Parliament again. Gladstonians call this baseless prophecy, and urge us to trust the Nationalists. But no political party can be trusted with such absolute powers as these. How would the Gladstonians like to hand themselves over bound hand and foot to a permanent, irremovable, Conservative majority in the House of Commons? The thing is absurd, impossible, grotesque. Ulster cannot, and will not submit to it. She will have to be “put down,” as the Gladstonians say, which is just our old friend Coercion *redivivus*, the very object of the Bill frustrated in the attempt to carry it into practice. The mistake lies in the inability to see that Ireland is not one nation, but two nations, living together in one country. The circumstances of the case necessitate an Imperial power which shall hold the balance of justice evenly between them.

11.—It places enormous interests in the hands of untried men.

When a man distinguishes himself by his administrative skill or capacity he generally builds up a business, engineers a railway, manages a bank, or takes part in some other great commercial or industrial enterprise. But where are the railway directors, the bank directors, the great manufacturers, the heads of commercial houses, among the Nationalist party? Have they shown their capacity for wise, economic, and skilful municipal government, either in Ireland or America? And if they are not to be trusted with the management of smaller concerns like these, can we safely place the conduct of an Empire in their hands?

12.—It has no foothold in the principles of genuine historic Liberalism, and it is not endorsed by the judgment and the conscience of the people.

The real meaning of Liberalism is justice. Its foundation principle is equality. The abolition of all odious privileges of man over man. It does not mean giving in to popular clamour, otherwise it must be very wrong to be unpopular. The backbone of the

Liberal party is the Nonconformist body. The true Nonconformist deliberately and fixedly chooses the unpopular side, because of his unalterable and fixed belief in civil and religious liberty. The position of Ulster to-day is strictly analogous to that of the Nonconformists who choose to defy the law and suffer death and imprisonment rather than yield one iota of their religious liberties, except that Ulster is fighting rather for civil than for religious freedom. I am not insensible to the appeal of my Nonconformist brethren of Ulster. I recognise the evident sincerity and the solemn determination of the people of Ulster, and I desire to tender them my deep and sincere sympathy in this great crisis in their history.

I do not believe that the Home Rule Bill will ever become law. I do not believe that it has ever been endorsed by the judgment and the conscience of the Liberal party. It did not emanate from the people. It is the work of one man. If it were not for the personal regard, the deep reverence, and high esteem in which the venerable leader of the Liberal party is held in the country, it would never have come within the range of practical politics. He is almost the only man in the Liberal party who really cares about the Bill at all.

* * * * *

I write as a Congregational minister, a genuine convinced and conscientious Liberal, though by no means a Gladstonian. I was a Home Ruler in 1882—long before Mr. Gladstone was—and still think that a rational measure of Home Rule for Ireland might be devised and carried into effect in a provisional and tentative way, though I regard the present Home Rule Bill as utterly futile, intolerable, and impossible—I am, yours very sincerely,

MARTIN ANSTEY, M.A.

MR. GLADSTONE

ON THE

Church of Rome and Civil Liberty.

THE following passage is extracted *verbatim* from Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, "The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance." It would surely be difficult to convey in more effective language an idea of the danger to civil and religious freedom involved in the establishment of a Roman Catholic Home Rule Government in Ireland:—

"I will state in the fewest possible words, and with references, a few propositions, all the holders of which have been **condemned** by the See of Rome during my own generation, and especially within the last twelve or fifteen years. And, in order that I may do nothing towards importing passion into what is matter of pure argument, I will avoid citing any of the fearfully energetic epithets in which the condemnations are sometimes clothed.

"1. Those who maintain the Liberty of the Press.—Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI. in 1831; and of Pope Pius IX. in 1864.

"2. Or the Liberty of Conscience and of Worship.—Encyclical of Pius IX., December 8th, 1864.

"3. Or the Liberty of Speech.—Syllabus of December 8th, 1864, Prop. LXXIX., Encyclical of Pope Pius IX., December 8th, 1864.

"4. Or who contend that Papal judgments and decrees may, without sin, be disobeyed, or differed from, unless they treat of the rules of faith or morals.—*Ibid.*

"5. Or who assign to the State the power of defining the civil rights and province of the Church.—Syllabus of Pope Pius IX., December 8th, 1864, Prop. XIX.

"6. Or who hold that Roman Pontiffs and Ecumenical Councils have transgressed the limits of their power, and usurped the rights of princes.—*Ibid.*, Prop. XXIII.

"7. Or that the Church may not employ force.—Syllabus, Prop. XXIV.

"8. Or that power not inherent in the office of the Episcopate, but granted to it by the civil authority, may be withdrawn from it at the discretion of that authority.—*Ibid.*, Prop. XXV.

"9. Or that the civil immunity of the Church and its ministers depends upon civil right.—*Ibid.*, Prop. XXX.

"10. Or that in the conflict of laws civil and ecclesiastical, the civil law should prevail.—*Ibid.*, Prop. XLII.

"11. Or that any method of instruction to youth, solely secular, may be approved.—*Ibid.*, Prop. XLVIII.

"12. Or that knowledge of things philosophical and civil may and should decline to be guided by Divine and Ecclesiastical authority.—*Ibid.*, Prop. LVII.

"13. Or that marriage is not in its essence a Sacrament.—*Ibid.*, Prop. LXVI.

"14. Or that marriage, not sacramentally contracted, has a binding force.—*Ibid.*, Prop. LXXIII.

"15. Or that the abolition of the Temporal Power of the Popedom would be highly advantageous to the Church.—*Ibid.*, Prop. LXXXVI.; also LXX.

"16. Or that any other religion than the Roman religion may be established by a state.—*Ibid.*, Prop. LXXXVII.

"17. Or that in 'countries called Catholic' the free exercise of other religions may laudably be allowed.—Syllabus, Prop. LXXVIII.

"18. Or that the Roman Pontiff ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.—*Ibid.*, Prop. LXXX."

—"The Vatican Decrees," pp. 7, 8.

Mr. Gladstone says Rome will enforce these tenets.

"It may appear," Mr. Gladstone adds (p. 9), "upon a hasty perusal, that neither the **infliction of penalty in life, limb, liberty, or goods**, on disobedient members of the Christian Church, nor the title to depose sovereigns, and release subjects from their allegiance, with all its revolting consequences, has been here reaffirmed. In terms, there is no mention of them; but **in the substance of the propositions I grieve to say they are, beyond doubt, included.** For it is notorious that they have been declared and decreed by Rome; that is to say, by Popes and Papal Councils, and the stringent condemnations of the Syllabus include all those who hold that Popes and Papal Councils have transgressed the just limits of their power, or usurped the rights of princes. What have been their opinions and decrees about persecution I need hardly say; and, indeed, **the right to employ physical force is even here undisguisedly claimed** (No. 7)."

DOES IRELAND WANT HOME RULE?

If any English people think that the Irish will be grateful to them for giving Home Rule they are making a great mistake. The Irish landlords will not be grateful for Home Rule, because it will put power into the hands of men who hate landlords, and who have often said that when they get the chance they will drive them out of the country. The Irish merchants will not be grateful for Home Rule, because it will ruin trade, and if it comes those who live by trade will be forced to leave their homes, and go to some other country to earn a living. The Irish manufacturers will not be grateful for Home Rule, for under the Parliament which the Home Rulers want to set up it will be impossible to carry on manufactures, and those who own factories will have to leave the country, like the merchants. But the people who will have least cause to be grateful for Home Rule are the poor people—the peasants and labourers. It is true that they are asking for it now, but they ask because they do not know what it is. They think that Home Rule will bring money into the country, that it will encourage trade, and that there will be plenty of employment for the people. The poor people do not want a Parliament in Dublin. They only want more employment. When they find that instead of giving them more work and more wages Home Rule takes away the work they have already, they will feel no gratitude to the people who gave it to them. It is true that many of the Irish labourers are now very poor. Many have to leave their homes to look for work in other countries, and those who stay at home have to put up with hardships which would seem dreadful to English people. But the Irish peasants are better off than they were fifty years ago, and now a great deal is being done to help them. Railways—thanks to Mr. Balfour—are being opened into distant parts of the country, by which they may send their fish, and eggs, and butter to be sold in the great

towns. In many of the poorest parts of the country classes are being started, where the boys are being taught carving and basket work, and the girls lace making and spinning, so that they may be able to earn money to help their parents. Many other schemes of the same kind are being undertaken for the good of the poor. But if Home Rule comes all those things must cease. The landlords, the merchants, the manufacturers, in fact all the rich people will be driven out of the country, and the poor will discover when it is too late that they have made a complete mistake in asking for Home Rule; that it has driven away their best friends; and, instead of making their fortunes, has ruined them. You in England have helped the Irish peasants generously in times of famine and distress. A worse danger than famine is now threatening Ireland. Help the people again and save them from Home Rule.

PROFESSOR TYNDALL ON MR. MORLEY.

THE following is extracted from a letter to the *Irish Times* of May 11th, 1893:—

Some years before Mr. Gladstone unfurled the flag of Home Rule Mr. Morley did me the honour of unfolding to me his views on the subject. These same views were adopted by Mr. Gladstone after Mr. Morley had found the opportunity of stirring into excitement that wayward and impulsive brain. I do not entertain a doubt of the accuracy of Admiral Maxse when he described Mr. Gladstone as “a mere neophyte” and Mr. John Morley as the real prompter and promoter of the great betrayal. Having been born in Leinster, and having lived for nearly twenty years in that province, having also dwelt in Munster—in Youghal, Kinsale, and Cork—having, moreover, visited Ulster at various times, I had by personal experience and natural sympathy obtained a thorough knowledge of Ireland and of the Irish character. If I except a single point I was at the time at least as good a Liberal as Mr. Morley, the exception being that my hatred of the Romish priesthood was far less than his, and when, as the dialogue progressed at the dinner table of our common friend, I found that he knew practically nothing about Ireland, I looked into his face dumb-founded and amazed, and wound up by the question—“Morley, are you mad?” But the virus was there, with its power of self-multiplication and extension. In Mr. Morley, as he sat before me, it was a small affair, but introduced into the brain of Mr. Gladstone it became a larger one.

’Twas but one little drop of sin,
We saw this morning enter in;
And lo ! at eventide the world is drowned.

The argument with which we are now so well acquainted was then set forth. England and Ireland could not continue to live in cat and dog fashion, and he would let Ireland go. There was no other way out of the difficulty. An eminent Scot described the situation afterwards in these words—“The game of law and order is up in Ireland.” I agreed with Mr. Morley as to the impossibility of continuing the life he described, but I urged that

these family brawls were due to the weakness of the man of the house. "Send a proper ruler to Ireland," I contended, "sympathetic and strong, determined to abolish every remnant of injustice, and to assist the suffering poor in every possible way, but also determined to take sedition by the throat and choke it. Give such a man a chance," I said, "before you throw up the sponge in this cowardly fashion. If he fails your argument will have gained some strength." I had no dream at the time that the proper man would be sent, but fortunately he was sent, and we know the happy result. It remains a historic fact that Mr. Balfour quelled anarchy, choked sedition, stimulated trade; but, above all, looked to the wants of the suffering people. The Irish Chief Secretary became the chief benefactor of the Irish poor, receiving from them an amount of applause and gratitude which his successor has never obtained, and can never hope to obtain. Tempted by his too sanguine friends from a pure and honourable literary life, and having through false sentiment chosen that side of politics in which mendacity and falsehood most prevail, Mr. Morley now reigns in Dublin Castle, not only as the pardoner of Gweedore murderers, but as the arbiter of the lives and fortunes of fifteen hundred thousand loyal and law-abiding men and women.

But this madness will end in due time. I do not aspire to be a prophet, but it strikes me that the publication of Mr. Gladstone's scheme will prove the death-knell of his political life. Seven years of concealment out of power, and seven months of concealment in power, had raised the expectations of his dupes to the highest pitch. They believed without doubting that their great magician had a measure up his sleeve that would solve the Irish problem. They now see what this measure is—a scandalous and traitorous surrender to the enemies of Britain throughout the world.

The Persecution of Mr. Bindon Blood.

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*.

Sir,—A statement appears in *The Times* of the 6th inst., to the effect that a third attempt has been made to murder Mr. Bindon Blood, a magistrate resident in the County Clare. I regret to say that this is the fourth, and not the third attempt, which has been made upon Mr. Blood's life. But the whole circumstances of the persecution are so horrible, and at the same time so instructive, that I ask leave to state them for the benefit of your readers.

Mr. Bindon Blood is an eminent civil engineer, who was formerly in the employment of one of the great English railway companies. As a recognition of his talent he was appointed Professor of Engineering in the Queen's College at Galway, and held that post for some time. In an unlucky moment a relative left Mr. Blood a small house and a bit of land in Co. Clare, and to this property Mr. Blood retired to pass the rest of his days.

When he left Galway, he took with him an old hanger-on, a retainer who had been long in his service, and to whom he was attached. He said to this man, "Come and live with me; I will build you a house, and provide for you. But as life is full of uncertainties, I will promise that in the event of our having to part at any time, I will give you a hundred pounds to set you up." Mr. Blood built the house. It is within a few yards of his own, and is one of the very best houses of the kind in the neighbourhood. For a time all went well, until one day Mr. Blood discovered that his servant had established his son in the house that had been lent him. Now this son is what is called in Clare "a

bad boy ;" he was, to put it mildly, suspected of complicity in at least two murders, and when I was last in the neighbourhood was in gaol under suspicion, as I was informed, of having murdered his own daughter.

Mr. Blood, not unnaturally, objected to this new inmate, and told the father that his son must go. "No," said the father, "he must stop." "That," said Mr. Blood, "I cannot permit, but I will do this for you. I will give your son the hundred pounds that I promised you in the event of our parting company ; give that to your son and let him go."

Again the father replied, "If my son goes, I go." "Very well," said Mr. Blood at last, "If that be your determination, go. Here is your hundred pounds, I cannot let you remain."

Such was Mr. Blood's crime, the beginning and end of it. Now let me tell what is the punishment which has been inflicted on him in a Christian land under the government of the Queen.

I heard the account of it from the lips of the man whom these scoundrels have once more attempted to murder. I shall not forget the occasion in a hurry. Four miles from the county town I came to the gate of a little park. At the gate stood two policemen with loaded rifles. I went up the drive and came to a small one-storeyed house. In the porch lay two big English mastiffs, every window had a bullet-proof shutter, a few yards from the back of the house was a hut in which for four years there had lived six armed constables watching day and night over the owner of the house. Inside, in the little parlour, I found a gray-haired old Englishman stooping in his chair over the fire, wearing out the last years of an honourable life under the slow torture of this vile persecution. The back of the chair in which he sat was ripped across and splintered. He told me how the thing happened. This was his story :—

"Shortly after I had sent my servant away a little girl warned me when I was in Ennis that an ambush was laid for me, and that I should be murdered if I went home. I returned another way and escaped. Not long after four shots were fired at me as I drove

along the high road in broad daylight; the bullets went close to me. The Snider rifles which the assassins dropped in their flight were found. After that a fellow fired five shots with a revolver through that window as I sat in this chair in the evening. One bullet ripped through the wood as you see. All five of the bullets were picked up in the room. Here is one of them. I cannot go down my own garden without two armed constables. That is how I live."

And now a fourth attempt has been made on this unhappy man's life. His brother has already left the country, because he too had been threatened with murder.

Such is the story of Mr. Bindon Blood, a subject of the Queen. And now I should like to draw attention to the most startling point connected with it.

The men who persecute Mr. Blood are perfectly well known throughout the County of Clare. I will assume for present purposes that the member for the division and the parish priest do not know them; but if that be the case, they are the only human beings within a score of miles who do not, and for the trouble of asking they could find out who they are to-morrow.

Now, I should like to ask what would be thought of an English member or an English minister of religion who permitted this scandal, this crime, to continue within a district for which they were responsible without wearing themselves out in protest, in denunciation, and in entreaty; protest against the villainy committed; denunciation of the assassins, whoever they might be, and however powerfully backed; and entreaty to every honest man and woman in the county neither to rest nor be satisfied till the cowardly ruffians who carry on such a persecution were brought to the doom they so richly deserve.

Mr. W. Redmond told us the other day that his constituents hate crime, and that he hates crime. Let him show it. Let him go down to his constituency and let him make one single honest effort to have Mr. Blood's persecutors brought to the gallows, or as near it as the law will allow, and I will believe him.

Meanwhile I shall form what opinion I please about the matter.

I hope that the plain recital of this miserable story will make it clear to English people why honest men and women in Ireland fear to be handed over to a class and a community which will permit and condone such abominations as those I have described.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

9 Evelyn Gardens, S.W.

P.S.—I may add that Mr. Morley informed the House of Commons that Mr. Blood is persecuted on the ground of his having been the author of an "eviction."

—*The Times*, 29th May, 1893.

British Workingmen, Beware!

If Home Rule passes it will be a bad thing for you, because an Irish Parliament will be entirely controlled by men whose interests are opposed to yours.

Remember that the Irish are an agricultural people. Nearly all Irishmen are more or less dependent on agriculture. The tenant-farmers and the priests will govern the Irish Parliament.

Now, the tenant-farmers want to keep the Irish workingman from emigrating to America, and by this means to get his labour for the lowest possible wages. And the priests are at one with them in this, for they want the Roman Catholic vote in Ireland to be as strong as possible. But when Irish wages fall, British wages must fall, too; for England, Scotland, and Wales will quickly be flooded with starving Irish labourers, ready to work for next to nothing.

Again, the Irish want protection for Irish industries. Nearly all classes in Ireland are agreed on this. The farmers unanimously desire protection against imported corn and meat, and those who wish to establish new manufacturing industries in Ireland want protection against imported British goods. An Irish Parliament will insist on protection, and in one shape or another it will establish protection, to the injury of the British manufacturer and workingman.

The majority of the Irish people continually cry—"Buy Irish goods! Encourage home manufactures!" Under an Irish Parliament, even without protection, the importers of British goods would almost certainly be boycotted. Even the Unionist minority, who are now attached to Great Britain, will have a bitter feeling against her if you now hand them over to an Irish Parliament. And you will get no thanks from the Home Rulers, who merely say, "The foreigners have robbed us long enough."

Finally, remember this—the Irish ministry will always be strong and supported by a big majority in the Dublin Parliament; but the British ministry will often be weak, and may frequently depend (as it does at this moment) on the Irish vote in our Parliament at Westminster. So that the British Government will rarely be able to defend your interests against the Irish where conflicting claims arise.

HERE ARE THREE THINGS WHICH THE HOME RULE BILL WILL DO.

I.—IT WILL HANDICAP YOUR FACTORIES.

"THE Factory Acts, by which certain hours are prescribed for labour, apply at present to the whole of the United Kingdom, and the minister who is responsible for that application is the minister who lives at Westminster. Pass this Act in its present shape, and you will give the power to the new Irish Legislature to have their own Factory Acts in Ireland, their own hours, their own regulations, and you may find yourselves competed against by men nominally belonging to the same empire, upon any terms which the Legislature in Dublin may think fit to impose."—Mr. Balfour, at Manchester, May 17th, 1893.

II.—WILL MAKE PRICES HIGH AND TAXES HEAVY.

"The Prime Minister accepts from Ireland one twenty-sixth part of the national expenditure, whereas he himself has told us that one-fifteenth would be its proper quota. In addition to that, he hands over to Ireland the annual contribution of £500,000 a year in support of the Royal Irish Constabulary. That is not a pleasant outlook for the British people. And remember that is only the beginning. You have been warned by Mr. Gladstone himself that he will not give to Ireland anything which he will not be equally ready to give to Scotland and to Wales; and when he has made to Scotland and to Wales the financial concessions that he has made to Ireland, I should like to ask you how many pennies in the Income Tax—how much will have to be put upon your tea and your tobacco and your sugar, before you will be able to make both ends meet in the British Budget."—Mr. Chamberlain, at the Guildhall, London, 3rd May, 1893.

III.—AND FLOOD YOUR MARKET WITH CHEAP BLACKLEG LABOUR.

"You would have an enormous, and in time an immeasurable, migration of Irish labour into England. Then where will be the power of your combinations for securing a fair share in the profits of the industry in which you are engaged, when there is poured into your labour market an enormous quantity of Irish free labour that will never combine with you, and which you would not perhaps wish or care to combine with. And imagine the power of the free labour which would work at any price, even at starvation wages; imagine the power which these people could exercise by coming in on any terms, and the damage which they could inflict on your labour organizations."—Lord Randolph Churchill, at Bolton, 22nd May, 1893.

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Disloyalty, Dishonesty, Conspiracy, Outrage, AND THEN THE HOME RULE BILL!

WHAT IS THOUGHT OF IT IN IRELAND?

THE Capitalists are against it.

The Manufacturers are against it.

The Merchants are against it.

The Industrial Community are against it.

The Professional men are against it.

The Loyal men and women are against it.

All who have anything to lose are against it.

The Protestants of Ireland are against it—

Episcopalians, over 600,000 ;

Presbyterians and Methodists, over 500,000 ;

Nonconformists of other Denominations, over 54,000.

(See Census Returns of 1891.)

Don't imagine these are all in Ulster—

Leinster has over 174,000 Protestants,

Munster and Connaught over 106,000.

(See Dublin Directory for 1893, page 637.)

The educated and loyal Roman Catholic laity of Ireland
are against Home Rule.

WHO ARE IN FAVOUR OF HOME RULE?

The Dynamiters of America.

The Fenians and Invincibles of Ireland.

The illiterate voters of Ireland.

The idlers, the grumblers, and the disaffected.

The mutilators of cattle.

The boycotters, and other systematic law-breakers.

The moonlighters and other perpetrators of outrage.

The place-hunters, who see no other prospect of earning
money.

[P. T. O.

THE ignorant and mistaught peasantry of the South and West of Ireland have voted for Home Rule Candidates. Why?

Because they have been bribed with the promise of being allowed to drive out the present owners of property, and seize upon their homes. Residences of loyal inhabitants have been already raffled for amongst the peasantry, at sixpence a ticket.

It is needless to enquire whether professional Agitators in Ireland are personally in favour of Home Rule or not. They are paid by the Irish in America to speak as they do, in order to undermine the power of England.

If Home Rule is passed, Great Britain will be over-run with Irishmen, Irishwomen, and Irish children, of the working classes, looking for employment. There will be no work for them in Ireland.

VERIFY THESE STATEMENTS FOR YOURSELF,
AND HELP TO DEFEAT THE

HOME RULE CONSPIRACY.

IT THREATENS TO DESTROY BOTH
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

HOW THE IRISH MEMBERS ARE RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT !

Evidence from the South Meath Election Petition.

Priest—(The Rev. RICHARD McDONNELL, cross-examined by Counsel, Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY.)

Counsel—"You told your congregation there were only fifteen Parnellites against 300 of your own people in the town?"

Priest—"Yes."

Counsel—"And you told those that were with you to prepare themselves with sticks—300 sticks against fifteen men?"

Priest—"I said there were three hundred voters. I said nothing about three hundred sticks."

Counsel—"Did you not tell the persons who were going to the meeting to bring their sticks with them?"

Priest—"I did."

Counsel—"Did you not say you would bring your own stick?"

Priest—"I did; I said that certainly."

Counsel—"Did you not insist upon standing opposite the ballot box when the electors were voting?"

Priest—"I stood about a yard away to see that the mark was put on all right."

Counsel—"At the time you made that speech, which I will call the 'blackthorn speech,' do you remember making an observation about cutting down these people?"

Priest—"I do."

Counsel—"Did you make an observation about 'a sterile soil' and 'weeds'?"

Priest—"I did."

Counsel—"Did you say you would cut them down like a weed that was poisoning a fertile soil?"

Priest—"No; I said I would strike off or cut the head off them just as I would cut the head off a noxious herb that was scattering its seed over a fertile soil."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—"That is not the way to destroy a weed."

Priest—"Well, it would destroy the spread and prevent the weed from spreading."

Counsel—"You also used these words at the altar and during Mass?"

Priest—"Yes."

Irish Times, 25th November, 1892.

How Nationalist Elections are Won.

The following extract from evidence given at the hearing of the libel action, *Rev. John Burns against the "Belfast Evening Telegraph"* (tried before Mr. Justice Gibson and a special jury, in Dublin, on the 2nd and 3rd of June, 1893), conveys an interesting picture of Nationalist electioneering tactics. Mr Thomas Sexton was the Nationalist candidate.

"John H. Bloomer deposed that he was employed by Mr. Joseph Carr, solicitor, at the last election in Belfast. He was addressing wrappers, sending out pamphlets, and doing the work of a clerk. Mr. Kearney, the secretary, gave him directions. A list of voters was given to him. He made out a copy from the marked register, which he gave back to Kearney. As a result of the directions **he made a copy of the names of all the dead men, and men who were in England and America.**

To Mr. Justice Gibson.—He only made a list of the dead men marked by Kearney. **He could not say if they were the dead men of both sides. He thought, as far as Mr. Kearney knew, they were all the dead and absent men.** He made them out in a book which he gave to M'Kinley.

Were there any instructions about polling the men which you had made out, given by Kearney to Carbery? Yes. The book he made up was gone over on the evening of the election, but he was not present.

To Mr. Justice Gibson.—**M'Kinley got the book from Kearney to work the personation. He was to engage men to personate as far as he knew. He meant by personation that men were to be produced to fill the vacant places.**

In reply to Mr. O'Shaughnessy, witness said other members of committee present besides Kearney were Professor M'Cormac, Mr. M'Donald, Mr. M'Cann. In the middle of August two men came to the office with reference to this matter, and asked for money. Kearney told them to call back in a few days; the money would be paid by Father Burns in the ordinary course, but witness did not see a man being paid."

Irish Times, June 3rd, 1893.

THE NEXT ELECTION.

Any candidate for Parliament, whether he is a Liberal, Conservative, or Radical, who is **in favour of Home Rule** (which means ruin to Ireland and great injury to England) **is no friend to your future welfare**; you are earnestly asked when election day comes to vote against anyone who takes the Home Rule side for the following reasons :—

It is known that a separate Parliament for Ireland would cause serious troubles and discontent, and would be the means of throwing out of work thousands of hands. Trade in Ireland under Home Rule would rapidly decline, and **thousands of starving workmen would be coming to England**, and in the great rush to obtain work at any price, they would work for less money than you are now receiving; and for a number of years to come **it would be a small chance for you to get increased wages**.

The majority of workingmen and the **true** friends of the wage-earning classes in Ireland are dead against Home Rule.

Use your own judgment, and vote against **anyone** who is likely to do you an injury. If you are in doubt about these statements write to

**109 GRAFTON STREET,
DUBLIN,**

where you can obtain further information from Irish workingmen.

Remember, **this is no question of voting Blue or Yellow**: it is voting for **High Wages or Low**. You are strongly advised to **have nothing to say to any candidate who supports Home Rule**, because if you vote for him you will be voting for **Low Wages**, and will harm yourselves and your families, as well as thousands of your fellow-workingmen in England, Wales, and Scotland.

ENGLISHMEN, When ELECTION DAY Comes,

If you vote for the Home Rule Bill you will vote to hand over thousands of Irish Protestants to be governed by Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests. That is a dangerous thing to do. The Bishops and Priests of Ireland have too much power already. People in Ireland are not allowed by the priests to vote as they please. If they vote against the wishes of their Priests and Bishops the Priests tell them they will go to hell; and too many of them believe that their Priests can send them to hell. So, under Home Rule, they will pass whatever laws the Priests want them to pass. Is it right for you to hand over your Protestant fellow-subjects to the power of such people? If you think not, support the Unionist Party and don't vote for Home Rule.

MR. GLADSTONE SAYS

That Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests, when they have the power, will forbid Liberty of Speech and Freedom of Worship.

IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE THIS

Write to 109 Grafton Street, Dublin, when you will be sent Mr. Gladstone's exact words, taken from one of his own books.

Within the last few months it has been many times shown that the Irish Priests are against all freedom. At a Poor-Law Election this year in Sligo a Priest headed a crowd of men who knocked a voter down and drove pins into his flesh and bit him, because he refused his vote to the Priests' man. Last year, at some elections held in Meath, Priests went about knocking down men, women, and girls, and striking them with blackthorn sticks and with whips, besides telling voters that they should not have Christian burial unless they voted as their Priests required.

IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE THESE STATEMENTS

Write to 109 Grafton Street, Dublin, and you will receive full particulars.

Will you, then, allow such tyranny to prevail, or will you not? The liberties, and perhaps the lives of thousands of your fellow-subjects depend upon your answer. **Be true Englishmen, and don't vote for Home Rule.**

WHY THE
Non-Episcopal Protestants
OF IRELAND

(PRESBYTERIAN, METHODIST, CONGREGATIONALIST AND
BAPTIST),

REFUSE HOME RULE.

BY REPRESENTATIVE MINISTERS OF EACH CHURCH.

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HOME RULE—IS IT JUST ?

BY THE REV. SAMUEL PRENTER, M.A.,
PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER, DUBLIN.

As a Presbyterian, I am bound to believe that if the Irish demand for Home Rule be a just and equitable demand, then it is one which ought to be granted, no matter what the consequences may be, either to individuals or to parties.

The Presbyterians of Ireland, North, South, East, and West, have gone practically solid against Home Rule from the first. They are, if possible, becoming more and more resolute in the subject every day. Are they right or wrong? Are they resisting a principle which is rooted in justice and equity? Or are they engaged in stern conflict against a policy which is the offspring of expediency and of opportunism, and which if carried would introduce into Irish affairs a state of things monstrously and intolerably unjust? These are simple questions which are of supreme importance at the present time. The Empire will soon be called upon either to accept or reject the policy of Home Rule. The question that ought to tower high above all others in the mind of electors ought to be, not Will Mr. Gladstone win? Will Unionists lose? Shall we get Disestablishment soon? Are the Conservatives about to enter upon a long lease of office? but the question of questions for the British Empire surely ought to be—Is Home Rule a righteous demand? Will it fall, if carried, with the stroke of an irreparable injustice upon the minority in Ireland? Or can it be so shaped and so fashioned to meet the needs of the Irish population that it shall be a just measure descending upon our island with healing in its wings? Long after we have all gone to the grave, and after present party storms have sunk into eternal silence, posterity will, in the calm light of experience, find a verdict upon our whole action, and will pronounce a blessing upon it if we do right, and an execration upon it if we do wrong. We are face to face with one of the most tangled and perplexing situations that could possibly come before a popular electorate. The most careful and dispassionate indication of the fact is

necessary. A wise and understanding interpretation of the fact is necessary. Then, when a first judgment is formed on all the facts, what is needed above all is the resolute emancipation of the conscience from the fetters of political party, and the brave, resolute, heroic determination to do right, hate wrong, and to leave consequences in the hands of the Supreme Ruler of nations, who protects from disgrace or disaster the people who walk along the pathway of justice and mercy.

In presence of these august considerations, I do not hesitate to affirm that if Home Rule be a just demand, no sacrifice is too great in order that it may be granted. Suppose the material prosperity of Ireland on its present basis be ruined by it, then let it be ruined. Justice is more than material prosperity. Suppose that Irish Protestantism be shattered, and Irish Protestants be compelled at once or by slow degrees to leave the island, then let Irish Protestantism perish and its adherents be expatriated. Justice is more than all our 'isms, and I for one decline to live another hour in Ireland if my presence is an obstacle to my fellow-countrymen obtaining their just civil rights. Nay, we must go a step further. Suppose the British Empire itself requires to be sacrificed in order that three millions of the Irish people must get their just and natural rights, then I say let the Empire go. Justice is more than Empire; crowns and kings that are maintained only by injustice and a refusal to do right must perish. And since all this is so, since the pillars of the State must, if they are to endure, stand upon the immovable foundation of righteousness, then, if Home Rule be right, let us not only grant it, but hasten to carry it in a generous, joyous, and triumphant spirit. Justice delayed is justice denied; and justice given with a grudge is usually justice shorn both of her grace and her strength.

But is Home Rule a just demand? If it be not, then the granting of it will be the cruellest blow that ever Great Britain dealt to Ireland. It has been proven up to the hilt that Home Rule places in peril Irish prosperity, Irish Protestantism, and the safety and integrity of the British Empire. Such a policy has no justification in expediency. It must be just or it is madness. Suppose it to be unjust, it will be an injustice that never can be undone, that will strike home to the very heart, not of Ireland alone, but to the very heart and seat of life of the Empire herself. It will involve a series of sacrifices, which, if made by a great people on the sacred altar of justice, would raise the British people to the rank of a kingdom of martyrs; but which, if only a holocaust upon the altar of insatiable political partisanship, will go near to proving them a kingdom of fools. Are we asked in this Home Rule policy to perform a great act of National justice?—at a tremendous cost, it is true. If so, in God's name, let us boldly do it, and accept

the cost and consequences. But is there at the heart of the Home Rule demand a principle which is fatally and incurably unjust? Then not only should we not grant it, but we should resist it by every weapon which God has placed in the hands of freemen. What should be the measure and what the limits of that resistance I leave to the guidance of the great spirits of the Anglo-Saxon race, which in past ages have made us what we are.

In attempting to track to its seat, and to lay bare the central and fatal injustice of the Home Rule scheme, it is necessary to begin with an acknowledgment of the wrongs that Ireland has suffered in past centuries at the hands of England. On my part this is no grudging acknowledgment. Long before Mr. Gladstone began to study and weep over Irish history, Irish Presbyterianism had given her sons in thousands to exile and to death in the cause of Irish liberty. We have been Irish patriots, and have struck both in American and on Irish soil at the strong hand that bound our country in fetters, how effectually history clearly declares. If we are now opposed to Home Rule it is because we are Irish patriots still, and because we resist, and shall resist, injustice, even though it come in the name of Irish patriotism. It is the painful record of the past which supplies the key to the confused condition of the present. Out of the seething heart of Irish discontent arises the demand, the angry and indignant demand, for Home Rule. The new consciousness of that injustice on the part of England goes far to explain the popularity of the Home Rule policy amongst the English people. A great British orator pointing with a trembling finger at the dark record, and crying in thrilling accents to the British people, "See what your fathers have done, and what you are doing, to a helpless, subjugated, and much-suffering race; see how you have drenched Ireland in tears and blood. What amends are you to make? They ask from you Home Rule; it is a small request! Let them have it, in the name of humanity and of justice"—is easily mistaken for a modern prophet, inspired and entrusted with a message from heaven. In this way great masses of men, most of whom could not tell whether Ireland consisted of ten counties or thirty-two, are electrified, and Home Rule has become an article of religion, which it is sinful even to discuss. Only very hardened men can resist a prophet's appeals; only very sceptical men dare subject his scroll to ordinary mundane tests.

Home Rule is represented by its advocates as a demand on the part of a people for self-government. The fatal injustice of the Irish Home Rule demand lies exactly in this, that it is the demand of a portion of the Irish people to rule the rest. It is the demand, therefore, for a new ascendancy. This is my objection, and this is the objection of my Church to Irish Home Rule. What right, in justice or equity, has one portion of a people to claim and to erect an ascendancy, a political and legislative ascendancy, over

the rest? None. It is not because the claimants are Roman Catholics that we object. No doubt that circumstance does not mend matters. But we are opposed to all forms of ascendancy. We should oppose Home Rule in Ireland worked by Protestants, even by Presbyterians, because we believe that the only hope of Ireland lies in the perfect political equality of the people. Neither is it because the Home Rulers are men convicted of crime that we oppose the policy. No doubt that is a circumstance, too, which gives to the policy an additional horror. But if Irish Home Rulers were men immaculate as unfallen angels, we should still resist their policy as unjust, inequitable, and unrighteous. We object to Home Rule because it is a demand to place one-third of the Irish population under the feet of the other two-thirds. We object to it because it would thus create in Ireland a new ascendancy, which, on the ordinary principles of human nature, would develop into a tyranny, an oppressive and intolerable tyranny, which no Englishman or Scotchman would submit to, and which no Irishman ought to be asked to submit to. If any Gladstonian denies that Home Rule means a new ascendancy, I shall ask him just one question. What is the meaning of the threat of Mr. Gladstone that he will not hesitate to use the British army to compel the Unionist third of the Irish population to lie down under the feet of the Home Rule two-thirds? If that does not mean a new ascendancy, and an ascendancy supported by British bayonets, what does it mean? But it will be said all self-government means that the minority must submit to the majority. Certainly not. The whole conception of Local Government, as distinct from the conception of Home Rule, rests upon the principle that there shall be no ascendancy of a part over the whole. In Local Government the whole people are under the broad protection of the Imperial Parliament. Life, liberty, religion, taxation, trade, agriculture, are all under the direct protection of the entire State. Only local matters which do not touch the conscience or the heart of a community are entrusted to the local authority. The local authority can originate no new principle of government, and become the fountain of no new privilege or power. It is administrative and responsible to the Empire. Let that principle be extended to Ireland and there will be no injustice and no complaint. I am quite willing to live under a local authority for local things, and I am quite willing to entrust all the rights and privileges of citizenship to the majority of the Empire. But I strenuously object to have the measure of my civil and religious liberty, the regulation of education and of trade, the administration of justice, and the control of police entrusted to any majority, Protestant or Roman Catholic, Celt or Saxon, in Ireland, whilst at the same time the minority are held in enforced subjection under the feet of the majority by the brute power of the Empire. That is what Home Rule demands; that is what Mr.

Gladstone's Home Rule Bill concedes. It is a demand rooted in injustice; it is a policy which can never take effect in Ireland, except over the dead body of liberty.

There are two additional remarks with which I conclude. The first is, that Home Rule is a very strange method by which England proposes to make reparation to Ireland for her centuries of misrule. Granted, for the sake of argument, that that misrule has been as black and bad as Mr. Gladstone has painted it. As a matter of fact, he grossly exaggerates, but the very exaggeration strengthens the argument I now submit. The only way to repair the past is to introduce justice and mercy into the management of the present. But by the method of the Home Rule Bill Great Britain seriously proposes to wipe out the black record of the past by simply cutting Ireland adrift in the future. More than that, Great Britain seeks to conciliate her Irish Nemesis by flinging to her one of her own children—viz., the third of the population in Ireland, whose only fault is that they have been faithful to England in the past, and tenaciously cling to her in the present. It is indeed a new and curious way of paying old debts. We do not think it will succeed. England is under the deepest obligations to make to Ireland ample amends for centuries of wrong. She will not discharge those obligations by investing an Irish majority with the power to consume an Irish minority. No injustice ever yet was expiated by the introduction of a new injustice. No debt was ever honestly liquidated by an enforced draft upon the property, the liberty, and the life of a third party. But now we are taught that as England has acted scandalously towards Ireland in past times she will wipe out the record by handing over Ulster and Ulster's co-partners to the Home Rule majority. She will keep the wolves from her own body by turning them upon the scent of Irish Unionists. It is not magnanimous. It is not just. It will not succeed. England will not get out of her obligation in any such disgraceful way. She created the Irish difficulty. She will have to try some less selfish and more self-sacrificing way of solving it. It is positively sickening to hear men speak of this policy as if it were too holy for Unionists to understand.

My concluding remark is, that the new Irish ascendancy under Home Rule will be the most odious in history. It will be the ascendancy of Roman Catholic over Protestant. It will be the ascendancy of the criminal over the law abiding. It will be the ascendancy of the agricultural over the commercial. It will be the ascendancy of the illiterate over the educated. It will be the ascendancy of the disloyal over the loyal. It will be the ascendancy of those who have not over those who have. It will be the ascendancy which would resemble a pyramid turned upon its own apex. Anything almost would be better than this. Complete autonomy; Ireland ruled by her own Crown, Lords, and Com-

mons; hands off all round would be infinitely better for us. Then, at least, liberty would not be bound and crushed by British steel. After a sudden conflagration, in which Ireland would be wrapped in flames, a new order would emerge, and a new Emerald would appear, which would herald the advance of a new day, and Irishmen, North and South, would work out unfettered their own destiny. But we must lay no shackles on liberty herself, and in Milton's sublime words I know, if she is called to it, she will not be worsted in the dire encounter.

SAMUEL PRENTER.

HOME RULE AS SEEN BY THE IRISH METHODISTS.

BY THE REV. W. NICHOLAS, D.D.,
METHODIST MINISTER, DUBLIN.

It is to be regretted that so many Methodists in England are in favour of Home Rule. This, however, is not to be wondered at when we consider the constant, unscrupulous, and unprincipled misrepresentations that are placed before them by some who, for some mysterious reason, enjoy their confidence. At the last Conference in Cardiff we had the opportunity of talking to many on the subject of Ireland, and found a remarkable willingness to listen to facts and to give the arguments against Home Rule an impartial hearing. From what we saw and heard we are quite convinced that if the state of the case were fully put before the Methodists of England, their false guides would be repudiated, and the overwhelming majority would be found to be in favour of the Union. So far as we had an opportunity of judging the numbers of those in favour of the Union now is far greater than it was at the Bristol Conference two years ago. At that time many said, "We shall wait and see Mr. Gladstone's Bill, it is almost certain to be a satisfactory settlement of the question." Such was their loyalty to a leader and their faith in a favourite statesman. A loyalty and a faith sadly misplaced!—still not discreditable to those who were slow to break the bonds of personal and party attachments.

Well, since then the Bill has been produced. It must have been a shock to fair-minded and honourable men to find that the Bill for which their confidence had been asked during seven long years of mystery and reticence was one so full of blunders and contradictions that its author had to withdraw, alter, and amend its clauses before he could get it passed through the House of

Commons, even with the aid of the most subservient and mechanical majority that ever voted at the nod of an autocratic minister.

Mr. Gladstone has produced his Bill, made over two-and-eighty speeches in getting it through the House of Commons, only to be ignominiously thrown out by the House of Lords. Now that the Bill is fairly before the country it is reasonable to enquire, Who are satisfied with it? The M'Carthyites are not. They regard it as "the basis of a settlement," as an "instalment of justice." But they do not even profess to accept it as anything more. The Parnellites are not satisfied with the Bill. With them are the best and most vigorous elements of Irish Nationalism—its independence and highest aspirations. That their representation will be largely increased at the next election is practically assured. They unsparingly denounce the Bill as a fraud. "Provisional is written on every clause," says their leader. The Unionists are not satisfied with the Bill. They think it a worse measure than the rejected one of 1886. Whilst this wretched Bill has shattered many a Gladstonian's faith in Home Rule, it has only intensified the antagonism of the Loyalists. We shall not quote the denunciations of this Bill by Episcopalian Protestants, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists or Friends, although all the Churches have in clear, convincing, and well-considered language exposed its fallacies and dangers; but we must give just one quotation from the minutes of the Methodist Conference of this present year 1893. In the judgment of the Conference, "if this Bill were to become law, so far from being a message of peace to Ireland, it would be a fruitful occasion of more distressing discord and strife; that in the new state of things which it would create, the religious equality now happily subsisting would speedily be destroyed and religious freedom be seriously imperilled; that class would be arrayed against class, and party against party, with a virulence now rare or unknown, and that the inevitable result would be, not the *amending* the provision for the government of Ireland, but the overturning of all order and good government."

Here is the deliberate judgment of a number of men—not ardent politicians—but men who know Ireland well, whose interests for weal or woe are bound up with her interests and who have shown their love for their country by their long continued and self-sacrificing efforts for her material, intellectual, and spiritual advancement.

The Bill pleases no party, those most enthusiastic in its favour give it but a tepid welcome, whilst others regard it with ill-concealed contempt, with disappointment, or with determined opposition.

We must enquire, Why are the Loyalists so resolute in their opposition to this Bill? Is it the result of faction? of extreme party spirit? of a love of ascendancy? No. None of these things influence them. *It is because the Bill provides no safe-guards for the protection of their property and of their civil and religious liberty.* Now we must take something for granted, and we take it for granted that our readers have read the leading speeches in the debate on this Bill in both Houses. Although the gag and the guillotine were freely used in the Commons, yet enough was said and said with distinguished ability by the leaders of the Opposition to prove as clearly as any proposition of Euclid is proved, that the Bill contains no safe-guards that are worth the paper on which they are written. These arguments seem to have convinced even the Gladstonians and to have led to a very remarkable change in their position. Now we are told not that the Bill contains safe-guards, but that the Loyalists do not need safe-guards—that, indeed, their asking for safe-guards shows that they regard their fellow-countrymen as having nothing human about them but the form.

We therefore purpose showing *that safe-guards are necessary.*

We fear it may sometimes seem as if there was something cowardly in the Loyalists' anxiety for safe-guards. The Loyalists are not cowards. If their liberties were seriously threatened they could and would defend them by force. But they are desirous of preventing legislation which might lead to civil war, hence their opposition to this insane Bill. Whether safe-guards are necessary or not will depend upon what sort of influences will control the majority. Persons who live in this country are best able to tell what those influences are. There is the influence of the Romish hierarchy and priesthood. We admire their sincerity and zeal. A priesthood less sincere and zealous would be more tolerant. Because of their deep attachment to the doctrines of their Church they appear unable even to understand what Protestants mean by toleration, and therefore Protestant liberties in worship and educational affairs would not be safe in their hands.

Let our friends read what the Parnellites say of the Antis, and what the Antis say of the Parnellites, and then judge if either party or both combined could be or ought to be trusted to "indifferently administer justice."

Is it conceivable that a Parliament of which eighty present would represent one class and one religion—that class not enlightened, not progressive, and animated by an intense class feeling—that religion one which could conscientiously seek for endowment, direct or indirect, and for a dominating voice in all public and private affairs—a religion which has sought for those things everywhere and always in the past—is it conceivable that such a Parliament could legislate so as to secure liberty, prosperity, and progress?

To suppose it would suppose an entire reversal of all known principles of human nature and an ignoring of all the lessons taught us by the history of the past.

We appeal, and especially appeal to our Methodist readers to ponder these things, and before they help to gratify the desires of a political leader or to ensure the success of a political party consider—the certain agitation and discord, with its resulting injury to material prosperity, as well as to the welfare and success of the Protestant religion—the not only possible but probable disturbance of social order, amounting it may be to civil war—which would result from the passing of a Home Rule Bill. That you Methodists of England—at least those of you who are not politicians first and Christians afterward—mean well to Ireland we do not doubt, but we implore you “Be on your guard against that mistaken kindness which would give as a boon the greatest legislative wrong that Ireland has ever received from the hands of England.”

A CONGREGATIONALIST VIEW OF HOME RULE.

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BY THE REV. JAMES CREGAN,  
CONGREGATIONAL MINISTER, BELFAST.

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Irish Congregationalists have never been associated with any ascendancy party; they have always been Liberals; they have helped the great Liberal party in bringing about many reforms, and they have at all times cultivated friendly feelings towards, and assumed a friendly attitude to, and advocated the equal rights and privileges of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. So that when we assume a hostile attitude to Home Rule for Ireland, we do not do so as bigots, fanatics, or unreasonable men, but as men who are deeply interested in the welfare of our country. If we believed Home Rule would be a benefit to Ireland, we would advocate it most heartily, but because as patriots we love our country, and desire to see our country happy, prosperous, and honoured, we desire to remain under the protection of the Imperial Parliament and the British flag. We fail to see that Ireland has a single grievance that cannot be redressed by the Imperial Parliament. Any Home Rule measure must endanger the civil and religious liberties of the minority, must result in the imposition of enormous taxes upon the industrial classes of the country, and lead ultimately to bloodshed and civil war. We deeply regret being obliged to oppose Mr. Gladstone in this matter, for we believe him to be a man of tremendous moral influence and earnestness, combined with extraordinary intellectual power, but we say it, and say it without fear of contradiction, that in this matter he has made one of the greatest blunders ever made by any statesman, and this because he has been guided by his imagination instead of his judgment, and because he has looked at the question from the popular rather than the scientific standpoint. The absolute indifference manifested by Mr. Gladstone's followers, and British sympathizers generally, proves that no one cares about Home Rule but Mr. Gladstone himself, and that it has never received the imprimatur or sanction of the judgment and conscience of the Liberal party.

In our opposition to Home Rule we are only keeping faith with our fathers. We have a splendid heritage in the Imperial Parlia-



ment, and in the security we enjoy through the protection of the British Throne. For that heritage our fathers suffered and bled. Shall we stand by like dumb dogs, like men without a particle of interest in their country's future, like men who have become so unpatriotic that they care not what may happen to their native land, and permit any statesman, however much we may respect him, to rob us of our heritage? If we were to do so we would be ignoble sons of noble sires. At present we feel strong and safe, and before we part with our possessions, our traducers will find that all our protests have been the outcome of deep sincerity and a solemn determination. A Parliament in Dublin, dominated, as it would be, by clericalism, could not make laws for the prosperity, liberty, and development of the Irish people.

The Nonconformists of Ireland have always been opposed to religious ascendancy. They helped Mr. Gladstone to disestablish the Irish Episcopal Church, not because of any hatred to that Church. They respected and admired many of her scholarly and saintly bishops, pastors, and laity. They helped to bring about disestablishment on principle. Now that we have not an established church in Ireland we want to continue that happy state of affairs. Anyone who knows anything about the spirit and temper of Roman Catholicism is well aware that when it has power it seeks the premier position. It would be as natural for an Irish Parliament meeting in Dublin to endow and establish Roman Catholicism in Ireland as it would be for the members of that Parliament to bring in a bill for the payment of themselves. Almost all of the present Nationalist members of Parliament owe their position to the Roman Catholic hierarchy and they would continue in an Irish Parliament to owe their seats to that hierarchy, so that they would be obliged to comply with every request of the bishops and priests in regard to the endowment of religion and education. Many noble minded and patriotic Roman Catholics are among the sturdiest and staunchest opponents of Home Rule, and they know as well as they know anything, that Home Rule will lead inevitably to the endowments of Roman Catholicism. No religious party any more than a political party can be trusted with unlimited power. Every thoughtful person knows that Home Rule would give unlimited power to the Roman Catholic Church, and like other churches, true to her history, traditions and professions, she would use the power in her own interests. The attempt to thrust Home Rule upon Ireland is retrogressive rather than progressive. It is removed from the actual interests of the British and Irish people. It is alien to the free, broad life of the Victorian era. We are told by Mr. Gladstone and his followers that we must trust the Irish people, and as the Irish people are completely under the control of the Irish priests, and the Irish politicians, according to a Parnellite newspaper, are "mere puppets in the hands of the priests," we are asked to trust the Irish priesthood. Would Mr. Gladstone trust them? If he would he is

greatly altered since he wrote his *Vatican Decrees*, and made his *will*. I cannot understand the indifference of our Nonconformist friends in England to the earnest appeals of their co-religionists in Ireland; they have always been the most earnest advocates and greatest defenders of civil and religious freedom, and yet, notwithstanding all the earnest appeals of their brethren, they persist in closing their eyes to the dangers which threaten us. The position of Ulster to-day is similar to that of the Nonconformists who suffered death and imprisonment rather than part with their glorious birthright—*freedom*. And when we pathetically and earnestly appeal to our liberty-loving friends in England they laugh at us and tell us to trust the Irish Nationalists. We hope our Nonconformist friends in England, Scotland and Wales before the next election, will see that in supporting the Gladstonian party they are supporting a party who are pledged to a "policy of despair," which must end in ruin and failure as well as the destruction of the freedom, rights, and privileges of their brethren in this country. Shall we appeal to earnest and thoughtful men in vain? We are confident we shall not. If we could only get them to visit our country and see and hear for themselves we know that they would go back to their respective countries resolved to preserve the Union, and saying, "Ireland from England, shall never, never go."

Home Rule involves the greatest possible injustice to Ulster. We cannot conceive of a greater injustice done to any people than would be done to the people of Ulster through the establishment of a Home Rule Parliament in this country. By it the intelligent, prosperous, and industrious people of Ulster would be placed under the dominion of a Parliament composed of men who would tax and oppress them, and make them deliver their hard earnings to support the thriftless, lazy, and do-nothing agitators in the South and West. We are told by Mr. Gladstone that the opponents of Home Rule in Ireland are in the minority, and that it is the duty of the minority to submit to the majority. If that is so, why do the three millions of disloyal Irishmen not submit to the authority of the thirty-six millions of loyal Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen combined? If Mr. Gladstone's principle were applied all round, it would undermine and break up the whole fabric of political life. To quote the words of an eloquent and learned friend, "Liberalism does not mean government by counting heads. Heads must be weighed as well as counted. Liberalism means freedom, equality, and security to all. It means the abolition of odious privilege of man over man." What would become of the British subjects in India and South Africa if the minority was always to submit to the majority? If this principle were applied on all hands civilisation would disappear, and a vast portion of the earth's surface would be plunged in rebellion and war. Yet we are told by Mr. Gladstone that the two millions of



loyal and contented people in Ireland ought to submit to the authority of the other three millions who have been guilty of all the crime and disorder which have disgraced Ireland during the last ten years. We are told if we do not submit, that all the forces of the Crown will be used to compel us to render homage to a Parliament in Dublin whose chief officers would be ours as well as England's most implacable foes, the authors of the Plan of Campaign and the National League. Surely Englishmen and Scotchmen will never be a party to this coercion of good, loyal citizens and subjects, by placing them under the heel of men who were described in 1881 by Mr. Gladstone as "preachers of the gospel of plunder?" The Irish Nationalist party are just the same men, filled with the same hatred towards England, dominated by the same spirit of bitterness and intolerance as they were when Mr. Gladstone spoke and wrote so strongly against them. How can we have any confidence in such a man, or in a party of men whose political history is stained with crime and bloodshed? Even if the history of the Nationalist party were all that could be desired, the members of that party are untrained men. Where are the men among them who have proved by their success as business men, merchants, railway directors, or builders and developers of industries in the country, that they are capable of the enormous interests that would be entrusted to them? Before the interests of a whole country are entrusted to men, they should have proved that they are wise, strong, intelligent, and capable as business men, manufacturers, merchants, and town councillors, &c. Is there a single Nationalist member who represents his own locality or the neighbourhood where he resides? It is very singular that all, or most of them, have to go to districts where they are unknown in order to secure the votes of the people. If it does not prove that their own neighbours, and the people who know them best, have no faith in them, it proves that they are without the influence which is always the outcome of ability, character, and social position. Ulster has prospered and thriven since the Act of Union was passed, though her land is less fruitful, and her resources fewer than the other provinces, and if the people of the other provinces had wrought more, and grumbled less, if they had had more industry, and less agitation, more patriots, and fewer contemptible sedition-mongers living on the credulity of a people all too easily imposed upon, to-day Ireland would have been one of the happiest, most industrious, and most contented countries in the world—one of the brightest stars in the Crown of our beloved Queen. We appeal with solemnity and earnestness to our friends in England, Scotland, and Wales not to desert us. We ask for no favours or privileges which we do not wish to share with all our fellow-countrymen of all shade of religious faith and political creed. \* All we ask for is, that we may be permitted to live as we have lived, under the protection of the British Throne, and as a part of the British Empire.

# HOME RULE FROM THE BAPTIST POINT OF VIEW.

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BY THE REV. R. H. CARSON,  
BAPTIST MINISTER, TUBBERMORE.

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BEFORE he reversed his political course, and forsook the standard of genuine liberalism, Mr. Gladstone had no more faithful, and, I must add, no more devoted adherents, than the Baptists of Ireland. Almost to a man we were with him, and with him heart and soul in his legislation for this country. His Land Bill and his Bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of all religion had our especial approval. In both these directions we had a burning interest, and the relief brought us by the great statesman we gratefully accepted at his hands.

But here we parted. If once the devoted followers of Mr. Gladstone, we are so no longer. The situation is no longer what it was. By a new departure—a departure unparalleled in its character—our old leader has riven the tie we once thought never could be broken. And we are more than parted now. Between us there is a gulf—a gulf nothing will ever bridge. Since his change of policy, we cannot but regard Mr. Gladstone as our worst enemy—the would-be betrayer, in fact, of our liberties and destroyer of our rights.

To the Bill for the so-called “better government of Ireland,” which Mr. Gladstone has introduced, and by means openly and grossly unconstitutional passed through the House of Commons, we object, if for no other reason, certainly for this one—we are *Liberals*. I say *certainly for this one*, for if we had no other reason whatever, this would suffice to make us the determined enemies of Home Rule. A Home Rule Government in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone himself dare not deny, would be an *ascendency*. \* As Liberals we cannot approve of this. Ascendency in any form or of any kind we will not have. We opposed Protestant ascendency when, unhappily, it existed in this country. On precisely the same ground we now oppose Popish ascendency. *Our liberalism demands equal rights for all.*



It will thus appear how greatly we have been misunderstood, and how grossly misrepresented, by advocates of Home Rule across the water. Our action in opposing Mr. Gladstone is put down to our Toryism, and we are said never to have been anything else than Tories. Of such statements the *exact reverse* is true. With a few exceptions, we have never been anything else than Liberals; and, moreover, *because* we are Liberals, Liberals in the true and genuine sense, we have opposed, and shall continue sternly to oppose, the unequal measure to which we now object.

But we have other reasons for opposing Mr. Gladstone's Bill. Home Rule, if once realised, would be more than a mere ascendancy—it would be a *tyranny*—a tyranny *unparalleled for cruelty and wrong*. In its very inception the Bill of the aged statesman is a cruelty and wrong. It came into existence not only at the instance of men by a Royal Commission adjudged to be in sympathy with crime—crime of the most diabolical character, it came into existence also (and this must for ever mark it) in the teeth of the solemn protests and burning expostulations of other men—lovers of law and order, whose entire future it fearfully imperilled. Nor was its passage through the House of Commons in the least less censurable. Nay, as we cannot but think, it is still more so. At the fountain-head of open and honest legislation, the stream was stayed; the gag was applied, and with the exception of a few details the Bill was passed without discussion or examination, and passed, moreover, by a majority, if distinguished for nothing else yet for this—its smallness and its exclusively Nationalist character. Than all this wrong-doing, could anything be more marked?

But are we Irish Protestants and Irish Baptists justified, should Home Rule be realised, in anticipating a dark future? Before God and our fellow subjects of every clime, *we say we are*. In the first place, in our civil interests, we have no doubt whatever, ruin would come upon us. Already the mere shadow of the evil has produced a depression of the most serious character. What the condition would be if the evil itself came, we fear to contemplate. Sure we are, however, it would be direful in the last degree. No interest by any possibility could remain untouched. All property, all trade, all labour, would of necessity be affected, and, in short, ruined. With a Government of penniless adventurers, no better than a pack of hungry wolves, and cut off as we then should be from English resources, could less be anticipated?

Yet this is by no means the worst or most distressing view of the case. Bad as it no doubt would be to be ruined in our temporal interests, it would be immeasurably worse to be despoiled of our religious privileges. And that, with a Parliament in College Green, is what certainly would come to pass. It is said, I know,

that this is the age of enlightenment, and suffering for religion now is an impossibility. Is it, indeed? Those who thus speak know little of Ireland, and still less of the Roman Catholic religion. Hitherto, and with all the restraints of British law, open air preaching, for instance, has been unknown, or all but unknown, in this country. In Scotland a titled Pervert and Propagandist can travel in his book carriage throughout the entire land, scattering Roman Catholic literature, and not even a dog is suffered to cross his path. Let that, or anything like that, *by a convert from Rome*, be tried in Ireland! Have the friends across the water, who think so favourably of Romanism, forgotten the mission of the Hundred Ministers to this country some years ago? Have they lost sight of the fact, that but for an armed intervention, that mission would have been baptised in blood, and of the further fact, that it came to an abrupt conclusion?

Now, we ask, if this has been the state of matters hitherto, and under British rule, in Ireland, what would the condition be if that rule were once removed? True, as we are sometimes told, Daniel was preserved among the lions; but true also, as must be admitted, this is not the age of miracles. Given the cause, the effect must follow. Ireland thrown into Romish hands would be Ireland closed to gospel work, and in many parts even to gospel worship. This, we think, defies contradiction. Can it be supposed for a moment that a system hating the truth of God, and drunk with the blood of the adherents of that truth, would at any time permit freedom of speech in matters of the soul? As well might you look for the freedom of heaven in the intolerance of hell. Was ever Rome known to favour the rights of conscience—known even to endure those rights, to endure them for a moment, when they could be trampled in the dust? If an instance of the kind can be produced, let it be produced. *But it simply cannot.* How, then, can we suppose that a Government in Ireland, dominated by the priesthood of Ireland—a Government, in fact, the *creation* of that priesthood, would give to Ireland equal rights in matters of religion? Is there a man on earth could believe this? Nay, as a matter of fact, is there a man on earth *does* believe it? Mr. Gladstone does not, for, regarding the Papacy, here is what he says:—"To secure rights has been, and is, the aim of the Christian civilization; to destroy them is the aim of the Romish policy."—"Vaticanism," p. 95). The Pope does not, for in his own organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*, we read:—"We yearn to see Protestantism extirpated from Ireland." The Jesuit Press does not, for in *Catholic Progress* we have these words:—"The woes of Ireland are due to one single cause—the existence of Protestantism in Ireland. Away with the Propagandists of Protestantism, and Ireland would be saved. Would that every Protestant meeting-house were swept from the land."

Popery and persecution are essentially one. Popery does not



persecute, as Protestantism sometimes has, in opposition to its own instincts, but *rather and because of its own instincts*, in other words, *because it is Popery*. The Papacy, if it ceased to persecute, would cease to be the Papacy. It is of its *very essence* to oppress—to oppress to extinction everything not within its own lines, and not inspired by its own spirit. Of course, it is of the system, and not of Roman Catholics as men and neighbours, we now speak. Ah ! if our poor dear countrymen were only left alone ! But left alone they are not—left alone they will not be. Driven by an Ecclesiastical Power to them utterly irresistible—an Ecclesiastical Power holding, as they believe, in its grasp their eternal all, there are no lengths to which, in obedience to that Power, they will not go. *This is our danger*, and, we submit, it is no idle dream, but a terrible reality. Home Rule once realised among us, we would be face to face with a Power behind which is gathered the entire strength of the Papacy. It would not be the poor deluded votaries of Rome in Ireland we would have to meet, it would be Rome itself *using those votaries* for its own diabolical ends. And what, under these circumstances, must follow ? Either our extinction, and the extinction of the truth of God with us, or our open resistance, of course terminating in convulsions hitherto unknown in the land. Are our friends across the water prepared for either of these alternatives ? On them, in the main, depend the issue of this great controversy. As for us, we appeal our cause to God and to the friends of liberty throughout the world. The Lord Himself defend the right !

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# HOME RULE AND LABOURERS.

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WHEN English labourers are asked to vote for a Home Ruler they must remember that Home Rule can bring nothing but misfortune to labourers ; to those in Ireland first, and then to those in England. Many Irish labourers now live by the wages which they earn for working on their landlords' estates. For them Home Rule will mean ruin, because the men who are asking for it have often said that when they get power into their hands they will drive all the landlords out of the country. Many Irishmen are now employed as porters, guards, stokers, and engine drivers, on the Irish railways. The directors of the Irish railway companies tell us that if Home Rule comes it will cause the greatest injury and loss to the railways which they manage. If the railway companies are very poor they will run hardly any trains and employ hardly any men. Hundreds who are now earning good wages will be dismissed and told there is no more work for them. At this moment thousands of Irishmen are employed in shipbuilding yards, and in making the linen for which Ireland is famous. The shipbuilders and the linen manufacturers have all said that if Home Rule comes they must leave Ireland, as trade will not be safe under the Parliament which the Home Rulers want to set up. If those great works cease that will mean ruin to the men, women, and children who are now living in comfort on the wages which they earn in those works. The Irish labourers will be the first to feel the misfortunes of Home Rule, but those misfortunes will also soon be felt in England. When the Irish lose their employment at home they will come to England to find the means of living. They will come, having lost all they possess, and ready to work for any wages, however small, to keep their families from starving. They will be employed on the farms, on the railways, on the great public works, in shops, in manufactories, everywhere where men are wanted who will work hard for small wages. They will, in the end, take away the employment which now supports the English labourers, and the English will have no right to complain if, by voting for Home Rule, they have helped to take away the employment which now supports the Irish.



# A Convert from the Gladstonian Party.

THE following letter appears in the *Times* of September 20th, 1893 :

SIR,—As one of the few Liberal candidates who in 1885 advocated some kind of Home Rule for Ireland, may I trespass on your courtesy to state a few of the reasons which compel me to sever my connexion with the Radical and Democratic party—**Liberal no longer in anything but name ?**

Liberals of the Greater Britain, rather than of the Great Britain type have always hoped that Mr. Gladstone might introduce an Act to amend the Act of Union which would strengthen the links of the chain of the British Empire. Buoyed up by this delusive hope, many of us have sacrificed the substance for the shadow, and have, hitherto, preferred Mr. Gladstone to Lord Salisbury. There are, however, limits to rational loyalty to Mr. Gladstone. Those limits have long since been passed, when **free discussion comes to be forbidden in our own House of Commons**, whose very name of Parliament implies free speech, and when we have been finally and definitely informed that **English Home Rule is to be sacrificed** on the altar of Ireland. **Even if Mr. Gladstone's Bill were a final settlement** of a feud between Great Britain and the least-instructed portion of the Irish race—which no one now pretends it is—the alleged cure would be worse than the disease. We cannot give the Irish of the South and West of Ireland self-government at the cost of destroying our own ; we cannot submit all our local affairs to the arbitrament of 80 men who call us “foreigners.”

There is, however, an additional and a graver reason why every man who respects the Constitution must pause before he continues to support Mr. Gladstone and those who lead him. The National Liberal Federation has, with much pomp and ceremony, announced its determination to end the House of Lords. The campaign thus rashly undertaken will, it is true, more probably end Mr. Gladstone's Government than the House of Lords ; still, over-confidence is a mistake. The question that every thoughtful man must now ask himself is, what will be the logical outcome if Mr. Gladstone wins the next election and carries out the threats of his supporters ? We all know perfectly well that the other hereditary branch of the Legislature—the Crown—would be the next to go. The vast majority of the English-speaking race are Monarchists—first, because the Monarchy keeps the Empire together, as no other institution does. Abolish the Monarchy, and Great Britain would sink—not to the rank of Holland, which keeps her colonies—but to the rank of Belgium, which has none. In brief, Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the better government of Ireland means a gagged House of Commons, a mutilated Parliament, and a dismembered Empire.—Your obedient servant,

J. G. COTTON MINCHIN.

Reform Club, Sept. 19

# PROSPEROUS ULSTER.

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ULSTER, and especially the Unionist portion of it, has always furnished evident and inconvenient disproof of the Nationalist assertion that Ireland cannot prosper under the Union. The Nationalists have therefore been compelled to attack Ulster, and to ridicule and minimise her prosperity.

Their attack has, however, been the most ludicrous failure. They cannot even agree among themselves as to what form it shall take. One party, led by the *Daily Chronicle*, tries to prove that Ulster has gained enormous wealth by "sweated" labour; and some of these writers and speakers have drawn moving pictures of children eight and ten years old working in hot mills; of starving workmen. "none of whom in Belfast," said a Gladstonian speaker, "can earn more than 16s. a week." These statements are mere lies. Belfast mills, like all others in the United Kingdom, are under the Factory Acts, and manufacturers would be promptly prosecuted for employing children under eleven. Only one prosecution for illegally employing children took place in Belfast during 1892, and the offender—a dressmaker—was fined £1 and costs. As regards wages, these vary in mills from 6s. 9d. a week for inefficient boys and girls up to 50s. a week for "tenters," *i.e.*, loom over-lookers. In Messrs. Harland and Wolff's ship-building and engineering works, where nearly 9,000 men and boys are employed, the wages (**exclusive of the staff of clerks, etc.) average over 32s. a week.** There are many families where the women and girls are employed in mills, and the men and boys in the shipping industry, and where the whole family is **earning from £150 to £200 a year.** Evidence of this may be seen in the astonishingly small number of poor-class houses in Belfast; there being in the whole city **only 17 houses rated at under £1 a year.** Several of the Gladstonian delegates from Newcastle, who recently visited Belfast, expressed themselves as amazed at the superior quality of working-class dwellings in the latter city.

Others of our opponents, however, maintain that the wealth of Ulster is a myth; that it does not exist, and is only talked about for political purposes. One of these writers has made the great mistake of giving figures in



support of his statement that Ulster was below Leinster and Munster in wealth. "The total exports of Belfast in 1891," he says, "amounted only to £96,662." As one item alone among the exports from Belfast amounted in that year to over £4,000,000, the statement was startling and somewhat puzzling, till its origin was traced. This enlightened member of the Gladstonian party had seen the figures of "goods exported **direct** to foreign parts"—a very small part of Ulster's trade, as most of her goods are sent to London and Liverpool for trans-shipment—and had **mistaken it for the total value of her exports!!!**

It has been asserted frequently of late that the emigration and decrease in population, which has been so strange and unfortunate a feature in Irish History during the last 50 years, has been as strong in Ulster as in the South of Ireland. A few figures are the best answer:—

### POPULATION.

|                             | ULSTER.   | MUNSTER.  |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1841 ... ..                 | 2,386,373 | 2,396,161 |
| 1881 ... ..                 | 1,743,075 | 1,331,115 |
| 1891 ... ..                 | 1,619,814 | 1,172,402 |
| Decrease 1841-1891 ...      | 766,559   | 1,123,759 |
| Decrease per cent 1881-1891 | 7'2       | 12'2      |

### EMIGRATION.

| 1st May, 1851, (first date of returns) to Dec. 31st, 1885 | 880,352 | 1,021,582 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| 1885 ... ..                                               | 19,498  | 20,436    |
| 1891 ... ..                                               | 13,264  | 24,678    |
| Percentage of Emigration to population in 1891            | 0'8     | 2'1       |

The town population is a sure test of the growth of a province. Of towns with a population over 10,000, only one in Munster has increased its population during the last 50 years, and that only by 293 inhabitants; while three have disappeared from the 10,000 list altogether. In Leinster there has been a small increase owing to the growth of the suburbs of Dublin. In Connaught there are only two such towns at all, and they have lost more than 5,000 of their population. In Ulster during the last 50 years two completely new towns have appeared in this list; and the population in towns of this class has **risen from 112,721 in 1841 to 325,790 in 1891.**

The increase in the total number of vessels which have entered and been "cleared" from the port of Belfast is a

striking illustration of her trade. It is interesting to note, too, that in respect of these vessels (if we exclude Cowes—a yachting station, and Portsmouth—a naval station) Belfast is struggling with Southampton for the **fifth or sixth place among the ports of the United Kingdom**. We have only space here for the figures of the three largest ports in Ireland :—

|              | 1888             |                  | 1890             |                  | 1892             |                  |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|              | Vessels entered. | Vessels cleared. | Vessels entered. | Vessels cleared. | Vessels entered. | Vessels cleared. |
| BELFAST..... | 9,488            | 9,489            | 9,932            | 9,957            | 10,476           | 10,055           |
| DUBLIN ..... | 7,737            | 7,400            | 7,509            | 7,212            | 8,081            | 7,902            |
| CORK .....   | 2,641            | 2,629            | 2,666            | 2,529            | 2,739            | 2,613            |

It is impossible to mention all the goods exported from Belfast, as more than 600 items are to be found in the list. Six of these alone amounted in 1891 to nearly £7,000,000 in value.

The housing of Ulster has improved to a remarkable extent during the last fifty years. Her first-class houses, as will be seen from the following table, have trebled in number during that period; her second-class houses (*i.e.*, those with from five to nine rooms; well-built dwellings inhabited by artizans and small farmers) are far more numerous than those of Leinster or Munster; and her fourth-class houses (*i.e.*, mud cabins) now number only 3,717 :—

|               | First-class houses. |        | Second-class houses. |         | Third-class houses. |         | Fourth-class houses. |       |
|---------------|---------------------|--------|----------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|----------------------|-------|
|               | 1841                | 1891   | 1841                 | 1891    | 1841                | 1891    | 1841                 | 1891  |
| ULSTER .....  | 7,471               | 22,361 | 101,437              | 189,707 | 179,745             | 110,762 | 125,898              | 3,717 |
| MUNSTER.....  | 10,392              | 16,603 | 65,624               | 110,485 | 125,108             | 67,959  | 164,113              | 7,361 |
| LEINSTER..... | 20,052              | 27,072 | 74,488               | 113,624 | 131,998             | 61,882  | 79,921               | 5,036 |

Holdings under one acre in extent have decreased in Ulster during the years 1881-1891; those over thirty acres have increased. Both in Leinster and Munster the reverse of this is the case.

But the prosperity of Ulster appears most markedly in her poor-law statistics. These figures, it is hardly necessary to add, are never referred to by Gladstonian writers or speakers. By no conceivable manipulation can their significance be altered or obscured



|              | Average<br>Daily No. of<br>paupers in<br>Workhouse,<br>1891. | Number of persons relieved (indoor<br>and outdoor) during the year<br>ending Sept. 29th. |         |         | Poundage of<br>expenditure<br>on poor relief<br>in 1891. |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------------------------------------|
|              |                                                              | 1887                                                                                     | 1889    | 1891    |                                                          |
| ULSTER ..... | 8,510                                                        | 89,098                                                                                   | 81,226  | 72,648  | S.    u<br>0    8½                                       |
| LEINSTER.... | 14,041                                                       | 192,422                                                                                  | 185,355 | 150,092 | 1    3½                                                  |
| MUNSTER....  | 14,344                                                       | 190,290                                                                                  | 177,268 | 156,221 | 1    9½                                                  |

The larger amount of income-tax paid in Leinster is due to the fact that the principal railway companies, insurance companies, banks, etc., have their headquarters in Dublin and pay income-tax there. Such a tax could, however, in no case be a test of comparative wealth, since a large amount of Irish money is invested in England, and a large amount of English money is invested in Irish securities—most of which have their income-tax credited to Leinster.

A word about education. Comparing Ulster's percentage of illiteracy (*i.e.*, of persons over five years old unable to read) with that of the rest of Ireland, we find that

|                        |                       |                |
|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| In Ulster,             | the illiterate number | 15·4 per cent. |
| In the rest of Ireland | "                     | 19·9 "         |

But Ulster's record would be even more favourable than this were it not for the large Catholic and Nationalist population of her western counties, in one of which (Donegal) the illiterates reach the scandalous figure of 31 per cent. while the percentage in the Protestant and Unionist County Antrim is only 9. Again, of the Protestants of all Ulster the illiterates number less than 8 per cent. as against 24 per cent. (practically a quarter!) of the Roman Catholics. Thus, the Catholics, though *a minority of the population, contribute a large majority (72·18 per cent.) of the illiterate inhabitants.* It is needless to adduce statistics of illiteracy from the South of Ireland—to speak of Clare with 19·2 per cent.; Cork with 20; Waterford with 26·8, &c., &c.

Ulster has no wish to boast of her industrial superiority to the other provinces of Ireland, but it is an indisputable fact. Wherever similar industry and wealth are found in the rest of Ireland they are similarly arrayed on the Unionist side. Under the Union this industry has begun, continued, and prospered. Under the Union it shall remain.

# HOME RULE.

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## The Majority Argument

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“THE majority in Ireland,” it is said, “want Home Rule, and because they are the majority they ought to get it.”

Assuming this to be true, what can Unionists reply?

They say that *Home Rule concerns England, Scotland, and Wales as well as Ireland*. It will change the whole system of the Parliament at Westminster; it will affect the British tax-payer; it will allow Irishmen to turn out popular British ministries, while their own ministries are independent of British votes.

Therefore Home Rule concerns Great Britain.

But a large majority in England is against Home Rule, and there is still a majority against it if you take England, Scotland, and Wales together.

The population of Great Britain is over 33 millions.

The population of Ireland is under 5 millions.

If you think of separate majorities in Great Britain and Ireland, *what an odd notion of government by the majority it is to say that 5 millions ought to force a great change on 33 millions against their will.*

In Ulster, too, there is a large majority against Home Rule.

*Shall the majority in Ulster, and in England, Scotland and Wales be governed by the majority in the least industrious, the most disorderly, and the worst educated parts of Ireland?*

Of course if a plan of Home Rule be laid before the people of the United Kingdom, and they really want it, they will get what they want. But no man should support Home Rule merely because an Irish majority wants it, since it concerns England and Scotland as well as Ireland.

If anything is certain, it is certain that the majority in Ireland want the dynamitards, now in prison, to be set free. But British Liberals and Conservatives agree to refuse this demand. Every demand, therefore, of an Irish majority will not be granted. You



have to consider whether the demand is a fair and wise one. And so in the case of Home Rule; you must consider not only whether it is demanded by an Irish majority, but whether it is a wise demand, and for the good of the United Kingdom. The majority in Great Britain believe that Home Rule is an unwise demand.

Of course no one should go over to the majority on any matter if he thinks the majority are in the wrong. *If you are a Liberal and the Conservatives are in a majority in your district, you don't become a Conservative for that reason; you remain a Liberal.* And so you should not support an Irish majority merely because it is a majority. You should make up your mind as to the wisdom or folly of the demand for Home Rule, and oppose the Irish majority, as you would a Conservative majority, if you think they are in the wrong, and are asking for what would injure Great Britain and the Empire. If you support Home Rule do so because you believe it is a good and useful measure, and not merely because an Irish majority demands it.

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# GLADSTONIAN PLEAS FOR HOME RULE.

Gladstonian Liberals say:—

(1). *In a free country the majority must rule.*

**Unionist Answer.**—In a free **State** the majority must rule. Therefore the majority of the citizens of the United Kingdom must rule. They are responsible for the good government of the whole Empire, and cannot divest themselves of their responsibility towards any part of it, unless they make such part an absolutely independent State. Consequently, the first duty of British electors towards Ireland is to see that she has **GOOD** government; and the question of granting her self-government must always be secondary to this.

(2). *But Self-government is demanded by so overwhelming a majority of the Irish Members—80 out of 103—that to refuse it makes Representative Government a farce.*

**Unionist Answer.**—Say, rather, that to concede it would make Representative Government in Ireland an overpowering tyranny. The very fact that the minority cannot return one member outside Ulster and County Dublin shows that they will be powerless under the absolutely crushing rule of the majority. In the United States, where Federalism has familiarized men's minds with sharp differences of opinion between different geographical sections of the country, no one would dream of conceding the demand of any section, merely because it was overwhelmingly backed by the voice of that section.

(3). *But Home Rule is the only alternative to coercion.*

**Unionist Answer.**—It is not an alternative to coercion. It would itself be a most terrible form of coercion; for not only would Ulster have to be put under coercion by the Dublin Parliament, but the old coercive *régime* of the Land League would be renewed in full vigour throughout the three Southern Provinces. Besides, Irish Parliaments are bound to pass Coercion Acts: Grattan's Parliament passed 54 in 18 years. It is the prevalence of Moonlighting, Boycotting, Agrarian Murder,<sup>a</sup> and organized Terrorism, which has made repressive measures necessary; and there is no chance of Home Rule putting a speedy end to these evils.



(4). *But Home Rule is needed to put an end to Protestant Ascendancy.*

**Unionist Answer.**—There is no such thing as Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. The only excuse for such an expression lies in the fact that Roman Catholics are excluded from *one* office in Ireland (the Lord Lieutenancy), as they are from *one* in England (the Lord Chancellorship). It is true that the Protestants of Ireland are, on the average, much better educated than the Roman Catholics, and on this account hold a considerable number of posts which otherwise they would have had no chance of obtaining. But it is not likely that Home Rule will do much to improve Roman Catholic methods of education, though it may do a great deal towards impeding the education of the other sects.

(5). *But Self-government is the tendency of the age.*

**Unionist Answer.**—Only in so far as Self-government is another name for the rule of the majority, which is not to be confounded with local independence. The tendency of the age is not towards the latter. The United States, Germany, France, Italy, and Switzerland, are five leading instances to the contrary; for within the past 100 years Germany and Italy have extinguished their petty kingships, France has abolished her old provincial system in favour of a highly centralized one, and the federal governments of America and Switzerland have greatly abridged the powers of the separate States and Cantons.

(6). *But Ireland under the present system blocks the way of British Reforms.*

**Unionist Answer.**—Under Home Rule she will doubly block it. The Executive control of Great Britain over Ireland will disappear; consequently the Imperial authority cannot be asserted in the smallest matter without wasting the time of Parliament. Besides, the Irish members, your present difficulty, will remain at Westminster in full force; indeed, with an Irish Parliament sitting in Dublin, they will speak with much greater weight than now, since they will claim from it a mandate to represent the views of the Irish Nation. Ireland will, therefore, be far more potent to block the way than now.

(7). *But by granting Home Rule Mr. Gladstone's followers hope to establish a "Union of Hearts" between Great Britain and Ireland.*

**Unionist Answer.**—That hope is founded solely on the promises of the leaders of the Nationalist Party, or, more strictly, of the M'Carthyite section of it, for Parnellites make scant pretence of attachment to British Liberals. And how can you place reliance on the suddenly-developed friendship of the M'Carthyites,

whose vows of loyalty to Mr. Parnell immediately after the Divorce Court were fully as fervent as their vows of friendship to the British Nation now? Besides, even they have in effect repudiated the "Union of Hearts" already; for on June 16th Mr. Sexton joined with Mr. Clancy (Parnellite) in an angry protest at Mr. Gladstone's adoption of some amendments to the Bill, declaring it as it then stood to be the **minimum measure** which Ireland could accept.

(8). *But we are appealed to on behalf of the Irish peasantry—a poor, struggling, down-trodden race, who deserve our pity.*

**Unionist Answer.**—On the contrary, they are the most highly privileged peasantry on the face of the earth. The Irish tenant's position is beyond all comparison more favourable than that of the English or Scottish tenant. His rent is fixed (on his application) by the Judges of the Land Court, and his landlord thenceforward can never raise it; he cannot be evicted except for non-payment of rent, nor then unless a full year's rent is in arrear; even when evicted for non-payment he has six months within which to redeem his tenancy, or to sell his right of redemption to another; he has the right of free sale; of compensation for all improvements when surrendering his holding; of applying to the court to break his leases, and to extend the time for his payment of rent; and he may become the absolute owner of his holding (should the landlord agree to sell) at *no cost* to himself—the State advancing the purchase-money, and giving the tenant 49 years in which to repay it in instalments less than his former rent. And these are but a few of the privileges of the "down-trodden Irish tenant!"

(9). *But we owe Ireland reparation for the wrong done her when her old Parliament was taken away.*

**Unionist Answer.**—The extinction of "Grattan's Parliament" was no wrong, but a boon to Ireland. That Parliament had brought Ireland to the verge of bankruptcy. In February, 1800, Lord Clare (the Irish Lord Chancellor) summed up the condition of Ireland in these words:—"We have not three years of redemption from bankruptcy or intolerable taxation, nor one hour's security against the renewal of exterminating civil war."

(10). *But Irish Unionists prove the weakness of their case by harping on the fear of religious persecution, as if such a thing were possible under an English sovereign at the close of the nineteenth century.*

**Unionist Answer.**—Unfortunately there can be no doubt that tyranny, amounting to persecution, by the Catholic ecclesiastics, is both possible and probable in Ireland under Home Rule. The right to suppress heresy by force was claimed afresh only last



year for the priesthood by the Rev. Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Maynooth; and the recent action of the priests in the Meath Elections and other periods of excitement has shown pretty clearly to what alarming consequences these claims are apt to lead. The instance of Quebec, a Roman Catholic province enjoying Home Rule within the Dominion of Canada, shows that even under an English sovereign at the close of the nineteenth century priestly tyranny is only too possible.

(11). *But the numerous safeguards and restrictions in the Home Rule Bill are sufficient for all emergencies.*

**Unionist Answer.**—Far from it. When in conflict with the sentiments of the local majority most paper safeguards are useless. Take, for instance, the proviso that a person shall not be deprived of life without due process of law. This is taken *verbatim* from the American Constitution, yet in America it operates only so far as it harmonizes with the wishes of the local majority. For acts against which public opinion is strongly embittered, trial by process of law is seldom allowed in the Southern or Western States of the Union; and nearly every week men are publicly put to death by the local majorities without a vestige of legal process.

(12). *Still, we are Liberals, and should vote for Liberals, and not for Tories.*

**Unionist Answer.**—As sturdy a Liberal as ever lived, the late Mr. John Bright, urged you to support the Unionists in this struggle. Remember that in many constituencies in which they could return Tories the Tories are voting for Liberals, for the sake of an Imperial cause for which Liberal Unionist and Conservative alike have sacrificed considerations of Party.

**Will you not do the same, and vote for the Union?**

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# Messrs. GRATTAN, GLADSTONE

## AND OTHERS

### ON

# GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—Since Mr. Gladstone refers so often to the success of Grattan's Parliament as showing the desirability of allowing Irishmen to govern themselves, it may be interesting to know what Grattan himself said in his own Parliament of his own Parliament when he had had ten years' experience of it. He described it as "a rank and vile and simple and absolute Government, rendered so by means that make every part of it vicious and abominable; practically and essentially the opposite of the British Constitution." "By this trade of Parliament the King is absolute." "Both Houses of (the Irish) Parliament . . . are now as much an instrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment. Suppose General Washington to ring his bell and order his servants out of livery (*i.e.*, to take off their livery)—to take their seats in Congress—you can apply the instance."—Lecky, "England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. vi., p. 520.

In the same debate Conolly said:—"The British House of Commons consists of 558 members, only 67 of whom are placemen, and no pensioners can sit in it. The Irish House of Commons consists of 300 members, 110 of whom are placemen or pensioners."—*Ibid.*

Lecky's comment is "Not a single fact in this crushing indictment could be seriously disputed."

Turn now to Theobald Wolfe Tone, who, in his pamphlet signed "A Northern Whig," urged the necessity of a reform in Parliament, and, as a means of attaining it, a close alliance between Catholics and Presbyterians. This pamphlet, published in 1791, is remarkable for the clearness with which it sounded a note which then became common in Irish politics—unqualified hatred of the Irish Parliament. He showed that all that had really been effected in 1782 was to increase the corrupt price by which the government of Ireland was carried on. "Before 1782 England bound us by her edict. It was an odious and not very safe exertion of power,



but it cost us nothing. Since 1782 we are bound by English influence acting through our own Parliament, and paid for out of our own resources. In Ireland alone among European countries the Government is not only un-national, but anti-national, conducted by men whose first duty is to represent another nation, and by every method in their power to repress every Irish interest which could in the most distant way interfere with the commerce or policy or patronage of England."—Lecky, vol. vi., p. 464.

FitzGibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, and the ablest supporter of the Government, openly defended this corruption as the only possible method of securing the integrity of the Empire:—

"A majority in the Parliament of Great Britain will defeat the Minister of the day, but a majority of the Parliament of Ireland against the King's Government goes directly to separate this kingdom from the British Crown. It is vain to expect, so long as man continues to be a creature of passion and interest, that he will not avail himself of the critical and difficult situation in which the Irish Executive must ever remain, to demand the favours of the Crown, not as the reward of loyalty and service, but as the stipulated price, to be paid in advance, for the discharge of a public duty."

And in one of the debates on the Regency (1788) he openly avowed that half a million had on a former occasion been spent to secure an address to Lord Townshend, and intimated very plainly that the same sum would, if necessary, be spent again.—Lecky, vol. vi., p. 380.

Grattan's statement that the Irish Parliament was essentially the opposite of the British Constitution seems at first almost unintelligible. But while at Westminster there was an Administration dependent on the Parliamentary majority, at Dublin this was not the case, and the position most closely resembling that of the English Prime Minister was held by the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, an official who was changed with the changes of the *British* Ministry. This curious system of so-called Parliamentary government was rendered possible by the great number of placemen whom the Lord Lieutenant—*i.e.*, the English Government—appointed at the expense of the Irish taxpayer, as well as by the fact that 200 out of the 300 members of Parliament were returned by 100 close boroughs, seats being purchasable at about £2,000 for one Parliament, or £8,000 in perpetuity, and the power thus obtained was exercised without scruple in order to keep the "Grattan Parliament" under the thumb of the British Government. For instance, in 1788, when the Regency question arose, the Irish Parliament took care to show that their choice of the Prince of Wales as Regent was a free choice, and not a necessary sequence of the selection of the same person by the British Parliament. The immediate result of this little show of independence by the Irish Parliament was the creation of sixteen new paid places by the Lord Lieutenant, so as to increase the Government influence. Indeed, one-eighth of the whole revenue of Ireland was absorbed

in payments to members of Parliament. It would, however, be quite incorrect to suppose that corruption was the only motive that operated to make Irish members of Parliament support the British Government. Many were conscious that they still occupied the position of a British garrison; all knew that on the most vital questions they were in direct opposition to the popular feeling, and they felt that to the British Government alone they could look for that support which was absolutely necessary if they were to rule Ireland in opposition to the wishes of its people on the two great questions of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. That they were in opposition to the people of Ireland is conclusively proved by the fact that all through the earlier years of Grattan's Parliament conventions of Catholics, of Volunteers, and of United Irishmen were held in order to express that popular feeling which was stifled in Parliament—conventions which, like the Land League of present years, established an independent Government in Ireland by the side of the regular Executive. For instance, Lord Westmorland, the Lord Lieutenant, wrote to Pitt, October 20, 1792 :—

“The General Catholic Committee have already exercised most of the functions of a Government. They have levied contributions; they have issued orders for the preservation of the peace—a circumstance, perhaps, more dangerous than if they could direct a breach of it; they maintain the cause of individuals accused of public crimes; their mandates are considered by the lower classes as laws. . . . If their General Committee have acquired this degree of power, what may not be apprehended from the power of the Convention?”

And subsequently, when it was seen that the conventions could not obtain from the Parliament the concessions which they required, the result was the Rebellion of 1798, with its awful and desolating horrors.

Thus all parties agree that Grattan's Parliament was controlled by corruption, some deploring, others defending the system. How then can Mr. Gladstone defend the extraordinary position he has been led to take up? He appeals to the success of Grattan's corrupted Parliament as promising success for the proposed Legislative Assembly, while at the same time he adduces the corruption by which the Union was obtained as a reason for the partial repeal of the Union which he now proposes. No doubt there is some foundation for what Mr. Gladstone says. Ireland *was* prosperous during *part* of Grattan's Parliament. But the sudden increase in prosperity began before Grattan's Parliament; it began in 1779, when the commercial restrictions imposed by England were in part removed; it increased in 1784, when Forster's Act was passed, giving bounties of 3s. 4d. per barrel on the export of wheat, when the home price was not above 27s. The result of this Act, coming just before the time when war and the great increase of manufactures in England raised the prices of wheat to almost famine rate, was to cause a sudden and unprece-



dented increase in the general prosperity of the country. However, like most artificially induced prosperity, it did not last long; the crash came in 1792. In that year the distress was so great that a special Act of Parliament was passed authorising the Bank of Ireland to advance £200,000 for the support of commercial credit. The distress among the poorer classes was very great; of the 2,000 looms in operation in Dublin in 1789, there were not 500 at work in 1792. But the prosperity and the distress alike might have happened under other modes of government, and the lesson of Grattan's Parliament lies not in them. It lies in the fact that British statesmen plainly saw that the Parliamentary independence of Ireland was incompatible with the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire, and that, either by statute or by corruption, the Irish Executive must be kept under the control of the English Government. If the present Bill be passed, it will be found impossible to maintain a real supremacy of Imperial interests, and separation will sooner or later result.

To use as an argument for the proposed Home Rule Bill that measure of success which was attained by a Parliament which in eighteen years increased the Irish debt from under £2,000,000 in 1783 to over £26,000,000 in 1800, a Parliament under which in sixteen years the country was plunged into an awful and most bloody rebellion—a rebellion in which Britain herself was only saved from untold disaster by those circumstances of wind and weather which Providence has always interposed in her sorest need, and which in this case prevented the descent of the Dutch fleet and the French army upon Ireland—to refer to an anti-national Irish Parliament governed by bribery from Westminster as guaranteeing success for an Irish Assembly which would act in concert with a contingent of Irish members at Westminster strong enough to rule England from Dublin, surely this is the veriest infatuation of statesmanship!—Yours truly,

EDWD. P. CULVERWELL, M.A.,  
Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

—*Times*, 7th April, 1893.

# Simple Truths about the Tories!

## WORKINGMEN!

What have Tories and Unionists  
done for you?

1. **FREE EDUCATION** was given by Lord Salisbury's Government in 1891. The first great man who advocated it was **JOE CHAMBERLAIN—A UNIONIST.**

2. **THE ALLOTMENT ACTS** were passed by the Tory and Unionist Party, led by Lord Salisbury, between 1886 and 1892. The first man to press them forward was **JESSE COLLINGS—A UNIONIST.**

3. **CHEAP BREAD** was granted by a Tory Prime Minister (Sir Robert Peel), and the most eloquent champion of this reform, **JOHN BRIGHT**, lived and died **A UNIONIST.**

4. The Tory Government first recognised the Duty of paying Government Workpeople **FAIR WAGES**, thereby setting an example to all Employers of Labour.

5. They reduced the Duty on **TOBACCO** by 4d. a pound, or £500,000 a year.

6. They reduced the Duties of **TEA** and **CURRANTS** by £1,200,000 a year.

7. They exempted **FRIENDLY SOCIETIES** from payment of Income Tax, and granted them Cheap Postage for Notices, &c.

8. They reduced Duties chargeable on **APPRENTICES** and **HAWKERS**; and the Stamp Duty on **HEALTH INSURANCE POLICIES.**

9. They **RELIEVED THE LOCAL RATES** by about £5,000,000 a year.



10. They raised the Duty on **SPIRITS** and **SPARKLING WINES**, the beverage of the wealthy.

11. They increased the **DEATH DUTIES** of the propertied classes.

12. Instead of crying "Ireland Blocks the Way," they carried out the (so-called) **LIBERAL** programme—**PEACE, RETRENCHMENT, and REFORM.**

During Mr. Gladstone's Administration (1880-1885) he spent **£19,480,250, and thousands of valuable lives, in needless WAR.** In **LORD SALISBURY'S** period of office the amount spent in war was just **NOTHING AT ALL!**

**SUPPORT THE UNIONIST PARTY!**

**DON'T HOPE FOR ANYTHING GOOD FROM HOME RULE.**

**" IRELAND WILL STILL BLOCK THE WAY  
TO BRITISH REFORMS AFTER THE BILL  
IS CARRIED ! "**

MR. LABOUCHERE, M.P. (*Truth*, 29th June, 1893).

**ELECTORS, THINK OF THESE FACTS, AND  
SUPPORT THE UNIONIST PARTY!**

# IS THE HOME RULE BILL JUST TO ENGLISHMEN ?

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THE Home Rule Bill, in the shape in which it has passed through the House of Commons, is full of the most flagrant injustice to Englishmen. As originally introduced it was sufficiently mischievous. In its present form it is infinitely worse.

In each of the following particulars its injustice is evident :—

## 1. *It over-taxes Englishmen to let Irishmen off their proper share of taxation.*

*For* it lets Ireland off with a contribution to Imperial expenditure of £1,540,000 a year, whereas at present (according to the *Economist* for July 15th) her average contribution is £2,360,000. Even this latter sum is much less than her proper share. The further £820,000 per annum, which she now escapes, must be raised by additional taxes in England and Scotland.

## 2. *It deprives Englishmen of their just control over the regulation of their own taxes.*

*For* the British Finance Minister will have to consider each time he prepares his Budget how it will affect the revenue of Ireland. "Free Breakfast Tables," for instance, reduction of Tobacco Duties, or Local Veto Acts, will be rendered infinitely more difficult; because, as Mr. Goschen says—"any diminution of indirect taxation would mean bankruptcy to the Irish Government."—*Times*, July 25th.

## 3. *It places purely English and British legislation at the mercy of the Irish Parliament in Dublin.*

*For* the Irish members at Westminster will vote as the Irish Parliament directs them. They will owe no responsibility to any constituencies for their votes on British affairs, and yet they are given the same unlimited power of voting as English and Scottish members. Englishmen will have no corresponding voice in Irish matters.

## 4. *It reduces the Imperial supremacy of the British Parliament to a shadow.*

*For* it provides for no effective control over the Irish Government; consequently the mention of "supremacy"



in the preamble to the Bill is a mere dead letter. But should the Irish Parliament wish to encroach even further upon that "supremacy," it has only got to select a moment when the Irish vote holds the balance of parties at Westminster to assert its claims with almost the certainty of success.

**5. It empowers Ireland to establish a Bounty system, and thus in effect to protect her manufactures against English and Scottish competition.**

*For*, according to Mr. Gladstone's own interpretation of clause 3, the Irish Parliament is only forbidden to grant bounties to exports as such.—*Times*, June 9th. It may, therefore, grant bounties or premiums on the production, though not on the exportation, of Irish goods. As Irish Nationalists have always openly desired protection for native industries, there can be little doubt that the Home Rule Parliament will wish to avail itself of this power.

[NOTE.—A hard fight was made by the Unionist party against this injustice, but the only concession obtained was the eminently vague and unsatisfactory sub-section added on August 18th by Mr. Morley.]

**6. It lessens the English workingman's prospect of high wages.**

*For* capital will be driven out of Ireland; industrial and commercial enterprise will cease; and the English market will quickly be flooded with Irish labourers ready to work for starvation wages.

**7. It deprives the English workingman of the control of his own hours of labour.**

*For* the Irish Parliament may release Irish factories from the British law which now limits those hours. Irish factories might thus compete at an advantage with British factories, and the limitation existing in England would have to be removed.

**8. It establishes a standing danger to Great Britain in time of War.**

*For* Ireland will have for the first time in her history an Irish Executive, subject to the guidance of her native Legislature. This enables her virtually to act as an independent state, of which it is certain that the Irish-American revolutionists will do their utmost to obtain the control. As the Clan-na-Gael express it in their circular of Dec. 18th, 1885:—

"The achievement of a National Parliament gives us a footing upon Irish soil. It gives us the agencies

and instrumentalities of a Government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. It places the government of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings, and gives us what we may well express as the plant of an armed revolution."

—(*vide* Parnell Commission Report, p. 116.)

As an appendix to the above may be quoted what *United Ireland* (July 22nd, 1893), says of Ireland's probable attitude in the event of England's being at war after Home Rule is granted :—

"Let us come to the real question, whether the people of Ireland would sympathise with England or with England's enemy in this supposed war. Well, it would all depend!"

So much for the "Union of Hearts"!

**9. It brings no advantages to counterbalance the many wrongs inflicted on England.**

It is no final settlement. (*Ante*, 4).

It creates no "Union of Hearts." (*Ante*, 8).

It leaves the path to British reforms blocked as badly as ever. (*Ante*, 2).

**10. It distinctly violates Mr. Gladstone's promise to Englishmen, made at Manchester, on June 25th, 1886 :—**

"I will not be a party to giving to Ireland a legislative body to manage Irish concerns, and at the same time to having Irish members in London acting and voting on English and Scotch questions."—

*Daily News*, June 26th, 1886.

## HOW THE BILL PASSED THE COMMONS.

Seeing how seriously, and in what a variety of ways, the rights of Englishmen and Scotchmen are prejudiced by this Home Rule Bill, one would naturally expect that in carrying it through Parliament the Government would have been careful—

- (1). To obtain the assent of a *majority of the British members* to the sacrifices which Great Britain was called upon to make.
- (2). To afford scope for the *free discussion* of every part of the measure.
- (3). To produce, not a hasty, but a *carefully thought-out scheme*, by the essentials of which they were prepared to abide.



- (4). To make sure that *not only Parliament but the country should have proper time to consider the Bill* in all its bearings, and express its views either in approval or condemnation.

Yet every one of these reasonable expectations was set at defiance by the manner in which the Bill was carried through the House of Commons.

(1.) It was carried through all its stages *in defiance of the majority of the British members*. The Irish vote (which Mr. Gladstone admits to be 23 stronger than it ought in the present Parliament), was thus used, not only to impair the integrity of the Empire, but to grant to Ireland 27 millions of British money, which Great Britain herself voted to retain.

(2.) It was carried by the repeated and violent application of *the closure*—the Irish vote being thus used to gag discussion, which, if allowed, would certainly have led to great alterations. So rigidly was this gag applied that, of the 1,495 lines composing the Bill only 331 were discussed at all. And of these 331 no fewer than 155 were amended! How many amendments would have been shown to be necessary had free discussion of the remaining 1,164 lines been permitted?

(3.) It was carried by means of a series of *sudden changes of front* on the part of the Government, which sufficiently proves the reckless character of the whole scheme. "It has been changed," says Mr. Chamberlain, "again and again since its first introduction, always for the worse, and always in deference to pressure from the Irish masters of the Government." So recklessly did the Government play with the rights of Englishmen, that on July 10th, Mr. Gladstone declared himself perfectly willing to *retain the Irish members at the preposterous number of 103* if the Opposition succeeded in carrying an amendment disapproving his latest arrangement.

And (4.) *To the latest possible moment the country was kept in the dark as to the worst and most humiliating blow to be inflicted on the British people—the retention of the Irish members with full power to vote as under the Union on all questions of British policy.*

Mr. Gladstone announced this new and startling arrangement for the first time on Wednesday, July 12th, at 5 p.m. *At 10 p.m., on the next day, the House of Commons under his gagging rule was forced to vote upon it after only six hours debate.* There was an English majority against it of 77.

What but the most unjust of measures could have been so unjustly passed.

# IS THE HOME RULE BILL A FINAL SETTLEMENT ?

FOR the following reasons it is quite impossible that the Home Rule Bill can prove a final settlement of the Irish question.

1. *Because the Bill is denounced as insulting and humiliating to Ireland by a powerful section of the Irish "Nationalist" Party, who, through their Parliamentary leaders and through their journals, utterly refuse to accept it in any other sense than as a meagre instalment of their demands.*

The following are the terms of a resolution passed by the Independent National Convention, held at the Rotunda, Dublin, on Wednesday, August 9th, 1893 :—

"That the distrust and alarm expressed by the National Convention of March last, with respect to the leading features of the Home Rule Bill, have been justified by the refusal of the Government and their subservient Irish following to amend or improve it in committee. *The manifest injustice of the financial provisions*, the constitution of the proposed legislature, and the *degrading and abject restrictions* with which its action is hampered; the reservation to the Imperial Parliament of the power to impose and control Irish taxes, and of power over so many Irish interests of paramount importance to the development of the nation, coupled with the reduction of the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament during the period of such reservation, leave little beyond the mere assertion of the principle of Home Rule to commend the present bill to Irish Nationalists, and *render it impossible that it could ever be accepted by any considerable section of the Irish people as a full, final, and satisfactory settlement of the National question.*"—*Irish Daily Independent*, August 10th, 1893.

Mr. John Redmond, M.P. (Chairman) at this meeting endorsed the sentiments of the above resolution in the following terms :—

"It is true that the Bill is full of deformities, and that it is full of defects humiliating to us—*defects which could not by any possibility remain long hampering the action of such a Parliament.*"—(*Ib.*)

Mr. William Redmond, M.P., added :—

"I have never said or thought for a moment that the present Home Rule Bill finally settled the Irish question."—(*Ib.*)



A yet more uncompromising resolution was passed by a large meeting of Nationalists, held at the National Club, Dublin, on Thursday, August 3rd, 1893. This meeting declared :—

“That the passage of the so-called Home Rule Bill into law would be injurious to Ireland, and that the Irish M.P.’s should oppose and vote against the measure. Also that *no measure of Home Rule, no matter how ample, can be accepted unless upon the terms of the unconditional release of the political prisoners.*”

—*United Ireland*, August 12th, 1893.

And *United Ireland*, in its leading article of July 22nd, uses the following language :—

“The present Home Rule Bill is *no final settlement* of the Irish question, and for *so small an instalment of justice* we can hardly afford to forget our whole past.”

2. *Because even those Nationalists who profess to accept the Bill have made qualifying declarations which show plainly that they are prepared on the first opportunity to extort further concessions.*

Mr. Sexton, for instance, who on June 16th spoke of the Bill as “already the minimum that the people of Ireland can accept,”—addressed the following words to the National Convention of the M<sup>c</sup>Carthyites held in Dublin on March 8th, 1893 :—

“I say that any British Minister who either advises the Crown to act vexatiously, or who refuses a reasonable Amendment (if need be) to the Irish Constitution, or who advises the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland within the sphere of the Irish Legislature *will find that he has renewed acutely the trouble of the Irish question*, and will find that he *has Ireland still to face.*”—*Freeman’s Journal*, March 9th.

Mr. Healy, at the same meeting, used language scarcely less significant :—

“There are some things in the Bill which I would rather see out—there are some things out which I would rather see in. But let us *do our work in our day and generation, and let those who come after us do theirs.*”—(*Ib.*)

These are surely not utterances which augur well for finality.

3. *Because the Bill leaves “every question of vital importance undetermined.”*

Such questions as “the representation of Irishmen at Westminster, the constitution of the Judiciary, the disposal of the Constabulary, the entire Agrarian question,” and the Financial relations between the two countries, are all postponed for a term of years, and we are face to face with the

certainly that at no distant date we shall once more be called upon to re-open the whole question, with the greatest disadvantage to British interests.”—(*Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., in Pall Mall Gazette*, August 8th, 1893).

These observations of Mr. Chamberlain's are fully endorsed even by thorough-going Gladstonians. *Mr. Labouchere, M.P.*, for instance, says—the Bill “relegates to the future all the principal issues involved in Home Rule” (*Truth*, August 3rd), and “while occupying time to the exclusion of everything else, *leaves almost everything to be settled hereafter*” (*Truth*, June 29th). And Mr. Atherley-Jones (Gladstonian M.P. for North-West Durham), on July 13th, declared in the House of Commons that the Bill means “the necessary continuance for at least six years of the chaos, agitation, and legislative obstruction which have stood in the way of any contribution to the demands of the English democracy.”—*Times*, July 14th, 1893.

4. *Because Irish Parliaments never have been satisfied with restricted powers.*

“Three times in Irish History—in 1641, in 1689, and in 1782—an Irish Parliament that was severely restricted by constitutional laws annulled its restrictions with the general assent of its constituents by a Declaration of Right. Can it be reasonably doubted that the same thing would happen again?”—(*Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, in Pall Mall Gazette*, July 24th, 1893.)

5. *Because the Legislature to be set up in Ireland under the Home Rule Bill will have far greater facilities for extorting further powers than any previous Irish Parliament possessed.*

The retention of Irish members at Westminster, with full power of acting and voting on all British questions, will give the proposed Irish Parliament the power (possessed by no Irish Parliament before) of commanding from 65 to 80 votes on every division at Westminster. What will be easier than for the Irish Parliament to choose a time when Irish members hold the balance at Westminster, and then make any demand it likes against Great Britain? The Imperial Parliament must either consent or have all its affairs thrown into confusion.

Again, no previous Irish Parliament has had an Irish Executive Government subject to its control, whereas Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill sets up an Irish Ministry as well as an Irish Parliament, and, by so doing, greatly strengthens the hands of the Irish Parliament in any quarrel with England.



6. *Because there are so many questions on one or other of which a quarrel between the British and Irish Parliaments must sooner or later break out.*

There is, for example, the question of *Amnesty for the Dynamitards*, which the Nationalists are unanimous in demanding, and both political parties in England are agreed in resisting.

There is the question of the *Imperial Veto*, which Mr. Sexton, on behalf of the Nationalists, says must not be exercised, while Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the Unionist Party, says it shall be exercised, and the leaders of the Gladstonian Liberal Party are discreetly silent as to whether or not they mean it to be exercised.

There is the question of *Irish Finance*, which must crop up once at least every year, since Ireland's revenue will be absolutely dependent on the provisions of the British Budget.

And there are the industrial and commercial questions, which will be raised in England when the Irish Parliament exercises the mischievous powers left in its hands, of granting *bounties to Irish manufactures* (which must injure British trade, and consequently lower British wages), and of repealing for Ireland *the Factory Acts* that limit hours of labour (which would almost necessarily lead to their repeal for England also.) In either case a quarrel between the two countries will follow as a matter of course.

7. *Because the American-Irish, on whose support every political agitation in Ireland depends, have openly avowed that they intend using the Irish Legislature as a lever to further ultimate objects.*

In the words of a circular issued by the Clan-na-Gael on December 18th, 1885 :—

“The achievement of a National Parliament gives us a footing upon Irish soil ; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. It places the government of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings, and gives us what we may well express as *the plant of an armed revolution*.”—Parnell Commission Report, page 116.

# The Gerrymandered Schedules.

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BY MR. ROSS, Q.C., M.P.

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AT no point in the course of the Home Rule debate were the defenders of the Bill more embarrassed than during the discussion of Mr. Parker Smith's clause providing for the appointment of Boundary Commissioners. When facts are complicated or imperfectly understood of the many, it is within the power of far less able debaters than the Ministers in charge of the Bill to make a show of defence, or at all events to confuse the issues. But in this case they were confronted by a cruel array of figures—figures from their own schedules and figures from authentic statistics. Only the wilfully blind could fail to see that the schedules of the sacred Government of Ireland Bill had been **concocted by some shameless gerrymanderer**, and adopted by the Government in a spirit of child-like confidence. Whether the test of population or electorate was applied, the result was always the same—the painful fact admitted of no concealment. **The only attempt at a defence was that the Unionist seats at present fairly represent the Unionist population in Ireland**, and that notwithstanding the patent unfairness of the schedules, this proportion, omitting the University, would be almost maintained.

But do the Unionist seats at present fairly represent the Unionist population in Ireland? **By no means.** The Irish Unionists are variously estimated



from two and a quarter millions to one and a half millions. Assuming the latter figure, as the most unfavourable to the Unionists, let us see how the matter stands. The population of Ireland, according to the last census, amounts to 4,704,750—the number of Irish seats is 103. Of these, omitting the University, **the Unionists hold 21 only, whereas it is clear that by population they are entitled to at least 33.**

Taking the matter in another way, and applying the population test, the over-representation of the Nationalists is equally apparent. The average population per seat in Ireland is 45,691. Omitting the University, the population of the 21 Unionist constituencies is 1,140,403, giving an average per Unionist seat of 54,306 in population. This shows an excess of about 10,000 above the average in the case of the Unionist seats. Applying the electorate test, a similar result appears. We take the population according to the census of 1891 and the electorate of that year. The population is 4,706,162, the electorate is 741,711, showing **an average of electors per Irish seat of 7,201.** The number of electors **in the 21 Unionist seats** (omitting the University as before) is 181,120; **the average number of electors to each of these seats is 8,535.** This shows an excess of about 1,300 above the average in the case of the Unionist seats.

It would naturally have been expected that, in the case of a Bill transferring all real power in Ireland into Nationalist hands, every effort would have been made not merely to put an end to this scandalous over-representation of Nationalists, but to make the voting power of the Unionist minority as effective as possible. But no such mistaken liberality obscured the vision of the framer of the schedules. Had not Fortune delivered his Unionist foes into the hollow of his hand to gerrymander them as it might seem good to him? Heretical Armagh, with more than double the electorate and almost double the population of pious Meath, has only the same number of representatives. Thus the citizen whose spiritual,

temporal, and political interests are the special care of Bishop Nulty and his clergy, has practically twice the voting power of the unregenerate heathen in Armagh. This is as it should be, for how otherwise can the wrongs of the past seven centuries be made right?

The county of Fermanagh, although it has substantially the same population and the same electorate as the county of Meath, has no such privilege accorded to it, and must be content to be represented by one member.

The Nationalist county Leitrim, with a population of 78,379, and an electorate of 14,869, is put on the same footing as the Unionist county Londonderry, with its 118,773 of a population, 20,845 of an electorate.

Nationalist Kerry, with 178,919 of a population, and 20,793 of an electorate, has the same representation as county Down, which has nearly 30,000 more of population and 18,000 more of an electorate.

The East Division of Belfast, returning one Unionist member, contains 13,991 people more than the combined population of Waterford, Galway, Newry, and Kilkenny, which return four Nationalist members.

Similar startling results can be got by further investigation, but in every case the Unionist constituencies come to grief.

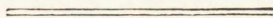
That the above results show a monstrously unjust state of affairs cannot be denied. But it is said such absurdities and inequalities must exist in every scheme of Representation. It is, however, passing strange that all these anomalies should, by some strange decree of providence, be in favour of the Nationalists and against the Unionists. Their



representation in the Irish Legislative Council or the Irish Legislative Assembly is, for very obvious reasons, a matter of but feeble interest to Irish Unionists; but now that the retention of Irish members in the Imperial Parliament has been definitely determined upon, the gerrymandering of the schedules increases their contempt for this cowardly Bill and its authors.

During the discussion there were not wanting Gladstonian opinions in favour of minority representation and single-member-constituencies, but when the matter comes on to a final determination the majority of votes will be in favour of the schedule as it stands. And why not? Has not Mr. Gladstone himself pronounced it good? Nothing more is to be said. It is the voice of a god, and not of a man, and that is enough for these nineteenth century Herodians.

*Reprinted by permission from "England," August 12th, 1893.*



# Mr. W. T. STEAD,

## A HOME RULER,

Gives three reasons which fully justify the  
House of Lords in rejecting the Home  
Rule Bill.

*1.—Because the House of Commons never had a mandate from British Electors to make Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Welshmen pay for the grant of Home Rule to Ireland.*

“MR. GLADSTONE last month presented to the House his third scheme of Home Rule finance. His followers accepted it, as they accepted both its predecessors, with an alacrity which gave point to Mr. Chamberlain's sarcasm. Mr. Gladstone says it is black, and they say it is good. Mr. Gladstone says it is white, and they say it is better. His latest proposal is to reduce Ireland's net payment to Imperial purposes by about half a million a year. The following is the present statement of account between Ireland and the Empire :—

| SPENT IN IRELAND,     |            | COLLECTED IN IRELAND. |            |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Civil Government      |            | Customs ... ..        | £2,402,000 |
| Charges ... ..        | £3,123,000 | Excise ... ..         | 3,058,000  |
| Constabulary ... ..   | 1,459,000  | Stamps ... ..         | 707,000    |
| Loss on Post Office   |            | Income Tax ... ..     | 552,000    |
| Account ... ..        | 52,000     | Crown Lands ... ..    | 65,000     |
| Cost of Collection of |            | Miscellaneous ... ..  | 138,000    |
| Revenue ... ..        | 160,000    |                       |            |
|                       | £4,794,000 |                       | £6,922,000 |

Making a balance received from Ireland at present of £2,128,000 per annum for Imperial purposes, or one twenty-eighth of the whole. Mr. Gladstone proposes that she shall in future pay one-third of her general revenue, amounting to £2,276,000, minus a sum of £487,000 granted on behalf of the Constabulary, and a further sum of £160,000, representing the cost of collecting the Irish revenue. So far, therefore, as Home Rule affects our finances, we shall receive £1,615,000 a year instead of £2,128,000, the Irish paying under Home Rule one thirty-seventh instead of one twenty-eighth



of the Imperial expenditure. This is not exactly the *status quo ante* which British tax-payers were led to expect. The British elector is prepared to let the Irish govern themselves. He is not prepared to subsidise them for doing so."—*Review of Reviews*, August 15th, 1893. p. 124.

2.—*Because on Mr. Gladstone's own showing the Bill should have been defeated in the House of Commons!*

"Mr. Gladstone has laid it down that Ireland ought to have only 80 instead of 103 members in the House of Commons, and his decision has been counter-signed by the majority. But if Ireland has 23 members more than she ought to have, all decisions carried by the present House by less than 23 Irish votes ought to have no moral weight. The votes of these 23 extra members ought to be deducted from the majority by which the Home Rule Bill is carried. But as the Government majority has repeatedly fallen below 23 on vital divisions, it follows that but for the votes of the doomed 23 the Bill itself would have been thrown out. Mr. Gladstone's persistence in tampering with the Constitution of the House of Commons has furnished a new conclusive argument to the enemies of Home Rule."—(*Ib.*)

3.—*Because the House of Commons never considered the Home Rule Bill!*

"What more ridiculous spectacle can possibly be imagined than the way in which the House has dealt with the Home Rule Bill! Here is a measure of 37 clauses, which, when printed, occupy seven columns of the *Times*. The House devotes 64 days to the discussion of these clauses, and at the end of that time the nation learns that it has not even attempted to discuss 27 clauses, occupying five-and-a-half columns space, but has simply passed them without any consideration at all. . . . The fact is, the House of Commons had much better go to school, either to the London County Council, or better still, to the Assemblies of any of the Scottish Churches. These bodies know how to do business, and the House of Commons does not."—(*Ib.*)

# WHOM DOES THE HOME RULE BILL SATISFY ?

## NOT THE IRISH NATIONALISTS.

At the meeting of the Independent National Convention, held on Wednesday, August 9th, 1893, in the Rotunda, Dublin, the following resolution was unanimously passed :—

“That the **distrust and alarm** expressed by the National Convention of March last, with respect to many of the features of the Home Rule Bill, have been justified by the refusal of the Government and their subservient Irish following to amend or improve it in committee. The **manifest injustice of the financial provisions** of the proposed Legislature, and the **degrading restrictions** with which its action is hampered, the reservation to the Imperial Parliament of the power to impose and control Irish taxes, and of all power over so many Irish interests of paramount importance to the development of the nation, coupled with the reduction of the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament during the period of such reservation, leave **little beyond the mere assertion of the principle** of Home Rule to recommend the present Bill to Irish Nationalists, and render it **impossible that it could be ever accepted by any considerable section of the Irish people as a full, final, and satisfactory settlement of the National question.**”

Mr. John Redmond, M.P. (Chairman), spoke of the Bill as follows :—

“The Bill is full of deformities, and full of defects humiliating to us—defects which could not by any possibility remain long hampering the action of such a Parliament.”

Mr. William Redmond, M.P., added :—

“I have never said or thought for a moment that the present Home Rule Bill finally settled the Irish question.”—*Irish Daily Independent*, August 10th.



At a largely attended meeting of Nationalists held at the National Club, Dublin, on August 3rd, 1893, the following resolution was passed :—

“That this meeting is of opinion that the passage of the so-called Home Rule Bill into law would be injurious to Ireland, and that, therefore, the Irish M.P.'s should attend and vote against the Third Reading. That this meeting is also of opinion that **no measure of Home Rule, no matter how ample, can be accepted unless upon the terms of the unconditional Release of the Political Prisoners.**”  
—*United Ireland*, August 12th.

In its leading article of July 22nd, 1893, *United Ireland* says :—

“The present Home Rule Bill is **no final settlement of the Irish question**, and for so small an instalment of justice we can hardly afford to forget our whole past.”

A manifesto issued by the Irish National League of America, February 25th, 1893, says :—

“The measure cannot be accepted as a full and complete settlement of the claims of our people. The Parliament provided by the measure will be **little better than a mockery.**”

And at the annual gathering of the Confederated Irish Societies (Chicago), on August 15th, the following resolution was unanimously passed :—

“The Home Rule Bill **will not satisfy the Irish people.** We deeply regret that the Bill includes reservations which, while inconsistent with recognised principles of self-government, are offensive to Irish sentiment. The financial clauses are manifestly unjust to Ireland, and it is clearly unfair that representation should be largely reduced during the period when interests of vital importance to Ireland are to remain subject to Imperial regulation.”—*Irish Daily Independent*, August 18th.

**Nothing will ever satisfy the Nationalist Party except Complete Separation.**

# SIR HENRY JAMES, Q.C., M.P.,

## ON THE HOME RULE BILL.



Addressing a Unionist meeting in the Albert Hall, Sheffield, on August 14th, 1893, Sir Henry James spoke on the subject of the Home Rule Bill as follows:—

We protest against it being said that the House of Commons, as a whole, bears any responsibility with regard to the passing of that Bill. The House of Commons has never passed it. There are a good many members in the House of Commons at this moment who do not know what is in that Bill. That Bill has no more passed the House of Commons than a man could say he passes an examination by knocking his examiner down. To my mind we have been playing a foolish and a discreditable farce. Seriously, let us look at this measure. It is the greatest measure that has ever been submitted to any deliberative assembly that ever existed in this world. Our empire has as great an interest involved as any empire that ever existed. All the interests of this empire are attacked, if not at stake, by virtue of this measure. And yet out of that Bill, every line of which represented matters of the greatest importance,

### THREE-FOURTHS OF IT

has never been submitted for one moment for the deliberation of the House of Commons at all. Out of 36 clauses six only have been fully discussed, four have been partially discussed, and the remaining 26 have never been submitted at all to the judgment of any member of that assembly. If you take it as a matter of lineage I believe that, in round numbers, out of 1,400 lines in that Bill only 350 have ever been submitted to the consideration of the members of the House of Commons. And if now you take the Bill so far as it has passed, and read it word for word so far as it has been discussed and passed, more than one-half, or, at least, substantially one-half, was not in the Bill when it was presented to the House of Commons. This change has been effected by amendment and alteration. More than one-half of that which is now part of the measure—that which has been discussed—was not in the Bill when it was first presented to us. We have a right to assume that the same amount of alteration will be made in the remaining portions of the Bill if the Government will allow us to discuss them. This measure, of which Mr. Labouchere said truly, Radical that he is, that it is 20 Bills rolled into one; of which Mr. Storey, the member for Sunderland, said it was a Bill, every line of which was full of



issues of the gravest importance to the country and required the most deliberative consideration—this measure has been, not on account of the necessity of prompt decision, for it is admitted that it is not going to pass this year, not on account of Parliamentary necessity, but simply by reason of the exigencies of party demands—it has been intentionally pressed forward and removed from the consideration of your representatives, from the consideration of the representatives of the people. To me this is a sorry work. Inasmuch as there are two Chambers under the Constitution, both ought to give full and deliberate sanction to any measure that is to become law. If the House of Lords has cognizance—as every member will have cognizance—that the House of Commons has never considered the Bill that is brought to the second Chamber, it is their duty to tell the House of Commons—“You have failed in your duty; we cannot pass any Bill until the representatives of the people have given their sanction to it;” and be it right or be it wrong, be the provisions of that Bill in accordance with the opinions of every one of us, the members of the House of Lords will say, “Take it back; reconsider it; do your duty, and when you have done that we will do ours.”

#### ***THE RETENTION OF THE IRISH MEMBERS.***

But let me now take one instance only of what exists in that Bill—I mean the manner in which the representation of Irish constituencies in the Imperial Parliament has been dealt with. At any rate that is a question affecting Great Britain. The presence of 80 members of the House of Commons voting upon measures affecting your daily lives must be of importance to you, wherever those 80 members come from. Now, the Home Rule Bill, as it reaches the House of Lords, will contain a provision that men in Ireland who will have a Parliament of their own, who can impose taxation, control every Irish measure, and be entirely governors of that country—those men in Ireland are also to send not only members to two Assemblies in Ireland but also 80 members to the Imperial Parliament. So the elector in certain counties in Ireland who will be allowed now to return three members to Parliament, in places where more than one-third of the electorate say that they are so unintelligent that they do not know how to mark their ballot-papers, will have the power to vote by virtue of one qualification for five members of Parliament. And this measure is promoted by the party that has asked that men who have not only one qualification but many, shall have only one vote. One man one vote in England is the cry of the Gladstonian party.

#### ***ONE MAN FIVE VOTES***

in Ireland is the cry. Here, perhaps, is the most flagrant instance of that unblushing desertion of principle, for the sake simply of

maintaining this Gladstonian party in office and of securing the Irish vote—they have sacrificed the British elector; they have glorified the Irish elector; they have given political inequality, in order, as I said, to create the anomaly of Home Rule. Gentlemen, let me sum up the result of this enactment in one short phrase, and it is a true one—Ireland has been bought;

### **GREAT BRITAIN HAS BEEN SOLD.**

I turn to my proposition for one moment more—that the electors of this country were never informed of how they were to be treated in this afore-mentioned political inequality. Take this question of the right of these Irishmen to come to our Parliament. It is an unexampled anomaly. I do not believe that in any Constitution of the world such an anomaly can or does exist. A minister proposes by legislative enactment that men are to come into an Assembly and have power to tax those whom they do not represent—that is, the Irish representative may tax the British elector, whom he does not represent, and at the same time refrain from imposing the same taxation upon the elector he does represent. For a moment will you look at that from a practical point of view? Gentlemen, it startles you; and the Gladstonians know this proposition has startled the country already. Let me ask you, whoever took interest in the late election in the summer of last year, did any one of you hear any Gladstonian candidate in any speech he made—by word of mouth or in writing in his address—say he would vote for the retention for all purposes of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament? I say there has been something like a policy of secrecy in relation to this question, and more than secrecy in relation to it.

### **MR. GLADSTONE'S PROMISE.**

Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Manchester, said distinctly, "I will not consent to Irish representatives who have a Parliament of their own in Ireland coming to the Imperial Parliament and dealing with subjects that belong to Great Britain alone."\* He did not say, "I will not propose to the Imperial Parliament," but his words were, "I will not consent to it." That was the promise he made to the English people. With that promise within their cognizance the supporters of Home Rule voted for this Bill, and there were many and many of them who told their electors that the Irishmen coming to the Imperial Parliament should not vote upon subjects

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\* Mr. Gladstone's exact words, as reported by the *Daily News*, 26th June, 1886, were as follows:—"I will not be a party to giving to Ireland a Legislative body to manage Irish concerns, and at the same time to having Irish members in London acting and voting on English and Scotch questions."



affecting Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone said, "I will not consent. I say that was a pledge in the face of the country. The only comment I think it now worth while to make upon his action is to make the simple statement—he has consented. He had stated, "I will not consent," and he has consented. But he has done more. When this subject was introduced to Parliament, the Bill that he proposed prevented Irishmen from dealing with our affairs in Great Britain. The Bill was so proposed, and it was never known that this great and important question, affecting as it must the legislation for good as for evil in this country for time to come—it was not known for

#### **FORTY-EIGHT HOURS BEFORE THE GAG**

was put upon us that this change was to be effected. We asked for information, and that information was refused to us.

That is not a manner in which a great Constitution can be destroyed with the one hand and re-erected with the other. It is political jugglery, and not statesmanship. Now, upon this subject—and I fear I must touch upon scarcely any other—one word only more. One statement Mr. Gladstone made at a meeting in Wales—that this question of the Irish members dealing with British subjects was essentially to be determined by British opinion as distinguished from Irish opinion. But the question has been determined by Irish representatives. The majority of your representatives in the House of Commons declared against this right of the Irish members, but that is thrown on one side. A substantial majority of the votes of England and Scotland are allowed to have no effect. The manner of carrying this great unequal power for Irishmen has been carried, not by the voice of Great Britain, but by the Irish vote—the vote of the men who are to obtain this overshadowing, this overwhelming and unequal power. This is a matter that I think Gladstonians should take to heart.—*Times*, August 15th, 1893.

# HOME RULE

## AND

# SAVINGS BANKS.



Do Irishmen trust an Irish Government?

No! Facts and figures prove incontestably that they do not.

### **LOOK AT THE POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS RETURNS FOR JUNE, 1893.**

By Clause 21 of the Home Rule Bill, introduced by Mr. Gladstone in February, 1893, it was proposed to transfer the Post Office Savings Banks in Ireland to the control of the Irish Government.

What followed?

That by the 30th of June, 1893, the amount of money deposited in these Post Office Savings Banks had **DECREASED BY £49,000!**

**NEVER BEFORE** has the amount deposited in Irish Post Office Savings Banks **DECREASED AT ALL.**

On the contrary, there has at the end of **EVERY HALF-YEAR WITHOUT EXCEPTION** since these Banks were established, **UNTIL NOW**, been a solid and substantial **INCREASE** in the amount of the Savings Banks deposits.

During the half-year ending June 30th, 1892, the deposits increased by £103,000!

During the half-year ending December 31st, 1892, they increased by £135,000!

Why, then, did they during the **NEXT** half-year, for the first time in their whole history **DECREASE**, and that by £49,000?



For no other reason than because the **HOME RULE BILL** had been introduced in the early part of that half-year, and was still before Parliament when that half-year came to a close.

The Unionists have always maintained that capital and confidence would fly at the sight of Home Rule. **THEY ARE NOW PROVED TO HAVE BEEN RIGHT.**

And mark, it is **NOT** the landlords, it is **NOT** the "Castle Ring," it is **NOT** the great capitalists, it is **NOT** the Tory aristocrats, who have given you this unmistakeable proof of dismay at the prospect before them.

**No, it is the small shopkeeper, the small farmer, the struggling domestic servant, the prudent workingman.**

These are the people who have withdrawn their confidence from Irish Savings Banks.

**EVERYBODY IN IRELAND WHO HAS ANY-  
THING TO LOSE DISTRUSTS AND  
DREADS HOME RULE.**

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# IRELAND

## AND LITTLE BRITAIN!

### THE TENTH CLAUSE OF THE HOME RULE BILL.

By the Tenth\* Clause of the Home Rule Bill, in the shape in which it passed through the gagged House of Commons, the **IRISH** members would have been complete and irresponsible **MASTERS** of the political affairs of England.

By this clause, while Englishmen were given no voice in Irish affairs, the 80 Irish members in the British Parliament were allowed full power of interference in every department of English politics.

Irish members were left full liberty of helping to vote away English money. They might vote for measures involving a heavy increase in British taxation, or against measures securing the British taxpayer a substantial reduction of his burden. Their own country would be untouched by these doings, and would have no legitimate interest in them.

#### **IRISHMEN WOULD THUS HAVE HOME RULE, AND RULE OF ENGLAND TOO!**

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone saw the evils of this arrangement so plainly that he then held the admission of Irishmen to Westminster to be quite out of the question under a Home Rule scheme. In introducing his first Home Rule Bill (on April 8th, 1886) he said:—

“I think it will be **PERFECTLY CLEAR** that if Ireland is to have a domestic Legislature, Irish peers and **IRISH REPRESENTATIVES CANNOT COME HERE TO CONTROL ENGLISH AND SCOTCH AFFAIRS.** . . . The one thing follows the other. There cannot be a domestic Legislature in Ireland dealing with Irish affairs, and Irish peers and Irish representatives sitting in Parliament at Westminster to take part in English and Scotch affairs.”—Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, vol. 304, p. 1055.

And speaking at Manchester on 25th June, 1886, Mr. Gladstone pledged himself to the British people in these explicit words:—

**“I WILL NOT BE A PARTY TO GIVING TO IRELAND A LEGISLATIVE BODY TO MANAGE IRISH CONCERNS, AND AT THE SAME TIME TO HAVING IRISH MEMBERS IN LONDON ACTING AND VOTING ON ENGLISH AND SCOTCH QUESTIONS!”**—*Daily News*, 26th June, 1886.

Did any English or Scottish constituency give Mr. Gladstone or his party a mandate to break that pledge?

\* Better known as the Ninth, but now become the Tenth by the introduction of a new Clause on the Report stage



Did any member of the Gladstonian party tell his English or Scottish constituents, before the General Election, that he intended to vote for retaining the Irish members for all purposes?

**No ; of course not.** All the Gladstonian candidates issued eloquent Election Addresses to their constituencies ; but not one of them all told his constituency this.

Nay, when Mr. Gladstone was again returned to power, he again brought in a Bill expressly providing that Irish members should **NOT** have power to legislate on English and Scotch affairs.

**Mr. Gladstone therefore did not interpret the voice of the country as giving him a mandate to break his Manchester pledge.**

And the country was never told that Mr. Gladstone had agreed to this sudden and startling surrender of the liberties of England, until it was **TOO LATE** for the English electors to urge their representatives to oppose and denounce it.

Though the Bill had been **FIVE MONTHS** before the country (from February 13th to July 12th), in the old shape in which it declared that Irish members should **not** vote on British affairs, **ONE DAY** (from the evening of July 12th to the evening of July 13th), was all the time Mr. Gladstone gave the House of Commons from his first announcement of the new scheme until, with his gag, he forced them to vote upon it !

This means that the clause was actually carried through the House of Commons **BEFORE** the newspapers containing the first announcement of its total change of character could be properly distributed through the British constituencies !

It is not to be wondered at that Ministers were afraid to give longer notice of such a proposal. The wonder is that they were not afraid to make it at all.

Without the Irish vote they could not have carried it through the House of Commons. In the House of Lords it has now been rejected by an overwhelming majority, in order that the **BRITISH NATION** may have the opportunity of deciding a question which was never before submitted to its judgment.

Are **you** in favour of "giving Self-Government to Ireland and taking it away from Great Britain ?"\*

Will **you** make the Irish members "Masters and Arbiters of British Policy, and of the rise and fall of British Administrations ?"†

Do **you** want to see "Great Britain and Ireland" transformed by Irish votes into "Ireland and Little Britain ?"‡

England, by a majority of 77 in the House of Commons, has already said "No !"

Shall the Voice of England count for nothing ?

**England's Voice will always count for nothing, if it counts for nothing now.**

\* Dr. Wallace (Gladstonian M.P.,) July 13th, 1893. † Right Hon. J. Morley, April 21st, 1886.  
‡ Mr. Radcliffe Cooke, M.P., August 15th, 1893.

# HOME RULE AND CANON LAW.



*The following letter from the Lord Bishop of Meath (published in the "Times" of June 28th, 1893) conveys one illustration of the light in which an Irish Parliament dominated by the priesthood would be disposed to view existing rights of property :—*

SIR—Probably not many of your readers are aware of the real danger in which Trinity College, Dublin, stands in the event of the Home Rule Bill passing into law. **It is a maxim of the Canon Law, incorporated into handbooks of it, published with the sanction of the late Pope for present use, that ecclesiastical property can never be disposed of by Kings or Governments except with the direct sanction of the Pope.** Trinity College, Dublin, is built on the confiscated site of the old monastery of All Hallows, and its confiscation by Queen Elizabeth has never been sanctioned by the Pope. Consequently, **in claiming it the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland are strictly within their rights, as defined by the Canon Law now in use;** and all their utterances must be read with this gloss. Disclaim all wish to interfere with it as they may, **they are bound to reclaim it if they can.**

And this principle of Canon Law explains another utterance of Archbishop Walsh. I have not his words before me, but it was to the effect that Trinity College, standing where it did, was an insult to every Catholic in Ireland.—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

C. P. MEATH.

June 23rd.

It must not be forgotten that Civil Law is regarded by the See of Rome as strictly subordinate to the ecclesiastical or Canon Law; and all those who maintain that in cases of conflict the Civil Law should prevail lie under the censure of the Church. (See *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, p. 7.)



# Christian Ireland: Non-Christian England.

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“We contend that the good government of Ireland by England is impossible, not so much by reason of natural obstacles, but because of the radical, essential difference in the public order of the two countries. This, considered in the abstract, makes a gulf profound, impassable, an obstacle which no human ingenuity can remove or overcome. It is that the one people is Christian and the other non-Christian. . . . They cannot freely exist in the same society. . . . The one people has not only accepted but retained with inviolable constancy the Christian idea; the other has not only rejected it, but has been for three centuries the leader of the great apostasy, and is at this day the principal obstacle to the conversion of the World.”—*Freeman's Journal*, February 18th. 1886.

# Religious Persecution in Galway.



THE Galway correspondent of the *Daily Express* writes as follows on the persecution to which Protestants are subjected in the County Galway under the shadow of the Home Rule Bill :—

“In consequence of an announcement that appeared in the *Irish Daily Independent* of the 16th inst., to the effect that Mr. Balfour congratulated Mr. Morley on the complete absence of crime in Ireland, I take this opportunity of forwarding a few items of news which may interest the Chief Secretary for Ireland and Mr. Balfour. At a place called Moyrus, away in the wilds of Connemara, and on the verge of the Atlantic Ocean, there is what might be called a small colony of Protestants. The surrounding districts are peopled by Roman Catholics, who are in the vast majority. I can substantiate these facts from the lips of the persons themselves, who have been subjected to every kind of annoyance that can be thought of or invented. I may commence by saying that these peace-loving Protestants are living under **a reign of terror** at the present time. One man who ventured to erect a gate in front of his house had the mortification to find one morning last week that it was torn down and thrown into the sea. An unoffending dumb beast belonging to him was also ill-treated by having a large slice of the flesh cut off its body by some sharp instrument, and left hanging by the skin. **A Roman Catholic who sold a boat-load of seaweed to the Protestant clergyman was beaten** by a person who also prevented some women from bringing home to the residence of the same clergyman a quantity of turf which he had paid for cutting and saving, and employed them to remove. Another Protestant had his house surrounded about 11 o'clock at night by a drunken mob, one of whom was armed with a scythe. The mob threatened to **cut the heads off all the Protestants** in the parish. This outrage occurred about 11 o'clock at night. Two boats belonging to another minister at this place were taken away at night and, it is believed, sunk in the ocean. None



of the other boats moored at the same place were disturbed. A few nights ago **shots were fired into the house of another Protestant**, and about midnight shots were fired around the parsonage to the terror of the inmates. These ignorant people are led to believe that the Protestants, or "jumpers," as they are nicknamed, have **only two months to live** there, as by that time **the Home Rule Bill** will have become law, and the Protestants must clear out. This is the state of things at Moyrus—a good foretaste of what may be expected in the future if this accursed Bill passes into law. Now, the strangest thing in connection with this sad treatment of a Protestant section of the community is that each case mentioned has been reported to the police in the locality, and still those acts of intolerance are committed with impunity. It is to be hoped this statement may catch the eye of some philanthropic person who may cause strict inquiry to be made into the matter, and that protection may be afforded to a peaceable, loyal, and well-disposed class of industrious people."—*Daily Express*, August 21st, 1893.

Mr. Morley, being questioned on August 25th in the House of Commons as to some of the above outrages, did not deny the accuracy of any of the particulars as stated, but expressed his belief that no "injury to life or property" was intended by the authors of the midnight shooting outrage.

Mr. Healy, M.P., however, could not let the occasion pass without rising to inquire whether Protestants had not recently been circulating tracts in the same neighbourhood. According to this "Nationalist" leader, as an English Wesleyan Unionist Liberal remarks (in a letter to the *Yorkshire Post* of September 2nd), "it would appear that even now the distribution of religious tracts by Protestants justifies the letting off of fire-arms near Protestant houses for the purpose of intimidation, and Mr. Morley, from his reply, seemed to think that so long as nobody was actually hurt there was no ground for interference.

# The Home Rule Bill Denounced

BY THE

**IRISH NATIONALIST LEADER,**

**JOHN REDMOND, M.P.**



ON the 30th of August the last stage of the Home Rule Bill's progress through the House of Commons was reached, when the Third Reading of the measure was proposed by Mr. Gladstone. It was on this occasion that

**MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.,**

the leader of the Independent Nationalist Party, delivered the important speech which we offer below to our readers. Gladstonians who fondly trust to find in the late Bill a final settlement of the Irish question are most particularly recommended to study this speech.

Mr. John E. Redmond, who was received with cheers, said— I desire, sir, to occupy the time of the House for the briefest possible space, and to come to what I feel it my duty to say at once. I do not intend to discuss the principle of the Bill. The long time spent in Committee has, in my opinion, been well spent, and the discussion, though it has been marred often by triviality, by personal rancour, and by party feud—and on the part of many I fear by a want of bona fides—yet on the whole it has been a worthy discussion, and has thrown much light on this difficult and complicated problem. (Cheers.) We have now arrived at the end of this discussion, and for the first time we are able to look upon this measure as a whole, and so looking at it **I have no hesitation whatever in repeating a few words which I used in this House on the night that this measure was introduced.** To-day, as they did then, they exactly express my opinion on the merits of the Bill. I said



on that occasion, "In my opinion **this Bill is defective in very grave and important matters. In some others it is gravely disappointing, and in the financial aspect it is not only ungenerous, but absolutely unjust.**" (Hear, hear.) I went on to say that it would be the duty of the Irish Nationalists so to mould the Bill in Committee, that it might become a satisfactory settlement of the Irish National question. Since I spoke these words it has passed through the ordeal of Committee. We have endeavoured to use such opportunities as were afforded to us, so to mould the Bill that it would satisfy what we consider are the necessary conditions of any reasonable settlement of this problem, and I regret now, at the end of all these discussions, to think every single effort of ours in that direction failed. Those portions of the Bill which we regarded as objectionable and dangerous, were voted against by us, but our votes were overborne. Those portions that we regarded as faulty and defective we endeavoured to amend, and again our amendments were rejected by the Government and an overwhelming majority in the House. **The changes which have been made in the Bill are changes which on the whole are for the worse and not for the better.** One result, and one result only, of the discussion in Committee is thoroughly satisfactory, and it is this, as the Bill now stands **no man in his senses can regard it as a full, final, and satisfactory settlement of the Irish question.** (Opposition cheers.) Sir, the word "provisional," so to speak, has been stamped in red ink across every page of this Bill. From one point of view I regret this. I have always believed that one of the strongest arguments in favour of Home Rule amongst Englishmen was the hope that the passage of a Home Rule Bill into law would mean getting rid of the Irish Question, and from the Irish point of view, I cannot help feeling that we can do nothing really effective for the amelioration of the condition of our people until full and unfettered powers over purely Irish affairs are placed in the hands of Irishmen. (Cheers.) I say at once, without any concealment whatever, that were this Bill put before us—or perhaps I should say put before me, for I wish to speak for myself only—if this Bill were put before me as the "be all and the end all" of the National aspirations of Ireland, as a full, final, and satisfactory settlement of the National demands, and were we asked to accept it as such I should feel myself bound to vote against the third reading of the Bill. On the contrary, I would say that **this Bill as it now stands could not in any conceivable circumstances, if passed into law, afford a full, final, and satisfactory settlement of this question.** (Cheers.) It would not be a full settlement, because it leaves over for future consideration by the Parliament of Great Britain some of the most vital of Irish interests, and withholds control over them from Ireland. It would not be a final settlement, because, in my opinion,

of necessity no partial grant of autonomy can be final. Whether the experiment be successful and the constitutional liberties of the Irish people be widened and increased, or whether the experiment be unsuccessful and the liberties of the people annulled and destroyed—in either case no man can say that such partial and restricted powers can by any human possibility be invested with the element of finality. (Cheers.) **It would not, in my opinion, be satisfactory to England, because no settlement can be satisfactory to England which does not end, as it ought to end, this question, and no settlement could be satisfactory to Ireland which does not make Irishmen masters of their own country.** In the words of the resolution passed by the recent National Convention—"The manifest injustice of the Financial provisions, the constitution of the proposed Legislature, and the degrading and petty restrictions with which its action is hampered, the reservation to the Imperial Parliament of the power to impose and control Irish taxes, and of power over so many Irish interests of paramount importance in the development of the nation, coupled with the reduction of the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament during the period of such reservation, leaves little beyond the mere assertion of the principle of Home Rule to commend the present Bill to Irish Nationalists, and renders it impossible of acceptance as a full, final, and satisfactory settlement of the National question." (Cheers.) Sir, everyone of the objections to the details of the Bill which are mentioned in that resolution were dealt with so far as opportunity permitted us to deal with them in Committee on the Bill, but the views we expressed in our speeches and by our votes were overborne. Again, I regard **the financial portion of the Bill as so gross and faulty that it would be absolutely impossible for me to allow the third reading to pass without protesting against it,** and making it perfectly clear that my vote on this third reading is not to be regarded as expressing approval of this part of the Bill. It is not alone that we regard the financial scheme as ungenerous, considering the past history of the relationship between the two countries and the disparity of wealth between them—it is not alone that we think the proposal morally unjust and that we are being robbed of money—but **we believe it would be impossible for us to govern Ireland under this financial scheme.** For my part, I believe that any effort to govern Ireland under this financial scheme would not only mean making it absolutely impossible for the new Irish Government to enter upon the work of developing the resources of Ireland, improving the material condition of its people, and thus stopping the tide of emigration by making the people happy and contented in their own homes, but to attempt such a policy would mean **National Bankruptcy.** (Hear, hear.) I cannot, therefore, record my vote and allow this occasion to pass



without maintaining the view I have expressed on these matters and uttering an emphatic protest against those portions of the measure.—*Irish Daily Independent*, August 31st, 1893.

Some Gladstonians affect to make light of these utterances, saying, (1) that Mr. Redmond's party is backed only by a minority of Irish Nationalists, and (2) that the leaders of the opposite or M'Carthyite faction have definitely accepted the Bill. But neither of these statements will bear examination.

(1) It has always been the stock argument of the M'Carthyites in Ireland, that the popular adoption of "Independent Nationalism" would provoke British Liberals into postponing Home Rule. Much of the support given them at the last elections was due to this plea, and would be transferred to the more warlike Redmondites the moment Home Rule was safely granted.

(2) Though M'Carthyites have **in Parliament** spoken of accepting the Bill as a settlement, **in Ireland** they have been obliged to defend their position by explanations implying that they only accept it as an instalment. At the M'Carthyite "National Convention" held in Dublin on March 8th, Mr. Healy, admitting that there were unsatisfactory features and omissions in the Bill, added, "But let us do our work in our day and generation, and let those who come after us do theirs." Mr. Sexton assured the same meeting that any British Ministry which opposed the future demands of Ireland "would find that they had renewed acutely the trouble of the Irish question, and would find that they had Ireland still to face."—*Freeman's Journal*, March 9th.

And even in the House of Commons, Mr. Sexton, on July 7th, so far qualified his acceptance as to say that "the whole Bill had been made transitional and almost experimental in its character."—*Times*, July 8th, 1893.

To hope to settle the Irish question by passing such a Bill is certainly sanguine !

# Is Home Rule a Message of Peace?

AFTER long silence, and without having consulted the nation on his scheme, Mr. Gladstone is endeavouring to force upon the country what he terms a Bill for the better government of Ireland. Many important questions arise for the consideration of the British constituencies. Among others it must be asked whether will Mr. Gladstone's proposed scheme for Home Rule induce the Nationalist leaders to become loyal to the Crown, or whether will they, by means of an Irish Parliament, strive to establish an independent republic almost within sight of England's shores?

The nature of the struggle engaged in by the Irish agitators—some of whom, according to the finding of the Parnell Commission desire to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland—can best be ascertained from their words and actions prior to Mr. Gladstone assuming office in 1892. After Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister the Irish agitators became much more circumspect, and endeavoured to as much as possible conceal their plots to obtain separation from Great Britain; but however much the Irish Nationalists may proclaim their loyalty it is of a very doubtful character, and the Gladstonians cannot plead ignorance of the revolutionary designs of the Separatists.

Lord Spencer, now a Home Ruler, having been Lord Lieutenant in Ireland before Mr. Gladstone became the obedient servant of Irish agitators, and the tool of the Catholic Hierarchy in Ireland, had many opportunities of judging of the disloyalty of the men whom Mr. Gladstone proposes to place at the head of Irish affairs. During Lord Spencer's Viceroyalty the Prince of Wales paid a visit to Ireland. The following extract taken from a leading article that was published in *United Ireland* of April 11th, 1885 (at that time edited by Mr. William O'Brien, M.P.,) gives an excellent idea of the feelings of the Irish Separatists towards the Crown. The article is specially addressed to his Royal Highness, being headed:—

## "TO THE PRINCE."

"You landed at Kingstown amidst the boom of cannon; flags in all the loyal colours fluttering as they might do in England; tiers of women in the height of fashion beaming down upon you from their reserved seats; Loyalists bawling themselves black in the face around you. . . . Psha! the only thing genuine in the entire show was the police arrangements; the only thing really



respected, the cold steel. Were your Royal Highness to call off your troops and official bludgeonmen for one short hour, the gay reserved seats on Carlisle Pier would have been torn to match-wood, the flags would have been in flitters, and the chairman of Town Commissioners and his address would have been gently dipped in the green sea wave. . . . You and your irresistible Grenadier Guards and Cornwalls hold in Dublin the position which the Germans held in Paris upon the bleak morning when the *pickelhaubes* streamed up to the *Arc-de-Triomphe* through the disarmed and humiliated city; with this additional aggravation that the Germans within *our* gates fling out their ensigns of rejoicement and acclaim the foreign conqueror in *our* name."

It may be remarked that were the aims of the Irish Nationalists the obtainment merely of an Irish Parliament and not of a republic, the refusal to welcome, and the describing as a "foreign conqueror," a member of the Royal family were without meaning except when considered as an insult.

Should it be argued that the disloyalty displayed in 1885 has disappeared since Mr. Gladstone brought forth his dismemberment of the Empire Bill, the following quotation from a leading article in *United Ireland* of July 22nd, 1893, will express the present real feelings of the Separatists. Criticising a complaint made by Mr. Stead that the Duke of York and the Princess May had not spent their honeymoon in Ireland, *United Ireland* said :—

"For his (Mr. Stead's) information we may tell him, first, that Nationalists have no interest whatever in the Duke of York's honeymooning; and second, that any attempt on the part of Royalty to bamboozle us by means of young dukes and duchesses 'cavortin' around' would be resented by all self-respecting Nationalist Irishmen as an affront."

Thus in 1893, notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's message of peace, there is the same spirit of disloyalty among the Nationalists as there was in 1885, when Mr. W. Redmond, at Gorey, Co. Wexford, declared that Irishmen "do not desire to have anything more to do with kings and queens," and that they could only have freedom under a "democratic and republican" government.

*United Ireland* of July 29th, 1893, in a leading article, made the following proclamation :—

"We refuse to acknowledge any class or any creed in this struggle for our country's rights. But, indeed, that is just where Irish Nationalists have always differed with Irish Unionists. The United Irishmen wished to combine all sects and parties, high and low, for the good of the common country. So did the Repealers. So did the Young Irelanders. So did the Fenians. So do the Nationalists of to-day."

For what purpose are every class and creed to now combine? It is to obtain something more than an Irish Parliament. On pages 116, 117, of the Parnell Commission Report will be found a Clan-na-Gael circular dated December 18th, 1885. After stating

that the objects struggled for "**lie far beyond what can be obtained by agitation,**" and that a National Parliament must be attained "**by any means offered,**" the circular continues :—

"The achievement of a National Parliament gives us (*i.e.*, members of the Clan-na-Gael Murder Club) a footing upon Irish soil; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle." (Mr. Gladstone's message of peace—an Irish Parliament—is thus an acknowledged agency for separation). "It places the government of the land (Ireland) in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings, and gives us what we may well express as the plant of an armed revolution."

There is the cat let out of the bag.

It is important to bear in mind that without aid furnished from America by Fenians, Dynamiters, and members of the Clan-na-Gael, the Irish Nationalists would be compelled to cease their operations. If ever the Irish Nationalists accept as a final settlement any measure of Home Rule, however liberal, that England could with safety and honour venture to grant, all further assistance from America will be denied. As for the Nationalists' professions to now accept as final Mr. Gladstone's present scheme, they are not worth the breath they spend in making them. The *Irish World* of September 4th, 1886, reported what were the conditions laid down by John F. Finnerty at the Chicago Convention, held on August 19th, 1886, on which the Irish Party would receive support from America. Referring to the Irish delegates present at the Convention, he said :—

"We have treated them to the consideration which ought to be given to the men who have come so far to meet us. We assure them that so long as they manfully maintain the Irish principle, as they are pledged to do, so long as they accept no final settlements, so long as they keep the green flag flying, and appeal to the best sentiments of the Irish people, they will find no truer hearts, no warmer supporters, than the old Fenians and the Irish Nationalist Extremists of the United States."

It was well known at the Chicago Convention that the Irish Nationalist leaders had no intention then, any more than now, to accept the establishment of an Irish Parliament as a final settlement of the Irish question; for Mr. W. Redmond, at a Convention held at Boston, U.S.A., on August 4th, 1884, had distinctly said :—

"We will work as long as we have life for the consummation of that object for which our fathers worked far more bitterly than we may be called upon to work, until we have made Ireland a nation and given her a harp without a crown."

Surely it "passes the wit of man" to understand how Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues can shut their eyes to the terrible consequences that must follow the establishment of a Parliament in



Ireland. Whenever they have an opportunity the British constituencies should open the eyes of the Gladstonian members of Parliament to the insane and unpatriotic course they have adopted in blindly following the lead of an ambitious old man, who is gratifying his personal vanity at the expense of his country. There will not be peace either in Great Britain or in Ireland if Mr. Gladstone succeeds in accomplishing the scheme he has so madly undertaken. Needy and greedy Nationalists will be scrambling for office in Ireland. How will there then be peace? Ireland will be overrun by Irish-Americans claiming rewards for the support they had given the National movement. How will there then be peace? Fenians, Invincibles, Dynamiters, and members of the Clan-na-Gael, will invade Ireland in hopes of being able to strike a blow against England. How will there then be peace? The Irish Parliament, with the assistance of their Irish-American allies, will attempt to oppress Ulster and all the loyal inhabitants of Ireland. How will there then be peace?

The success of Mr. Gladstone's design will but plunge the whole country into a state of anarchy, if not of civil war, and Ireland, that under the Unionist Government had commenced to enter on a period of prosperity, will be reduced to a state of poverty and misery, and she will have forfeited all claims to a generous and friendly treatment from Great Britain.

Such will be the result of Mr. Gladstone's policy. He sends no message of peace to Ireland.

# WHAT WILL HOME RULE DO FOR IRELAND?



At a meeting in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin said :—

“ Why should there be a Home Rule Bill at all ? If I thought, or if you thought that our country was at this time subject to any real grievance, if we thought that any section of our countrymen were now enduring any cruel wrong, I am sure I may say on your behalf as well as on my own that we would be prepared, God helping us, to incur any sacrifice, or to suffer any loss for the redress of that grievance or the removal of that wrong. What grievance is there at present that is endured by our fellow-countrymen in this land ? There are no penal laws now, thank God. There are no civil disabilities caused by any man's creed ; there is no religious ascendancy. Our members of Parliament have equal rights with the representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales in the Imperial Parliament ; they get more than their due share of favourable legislation. I ask you again why should there be a Home Rule Bill at all ? ”—(*Irish Times*, March 16th, 1893.)

By “ favourable legislation ” the Archbishop means—1st, the Land Purchase Acts of 1885 and 1888. By these it is made possible for Irish tenants to buy their farms on easy terms.

2nd, the Light Railways Act. By this Act money was lent by Government to build railways in the West of Ireland. The people in that part of the country are very poor and could never have raised the money necessary to build the railways for themselves. Now that they have the railways they will be able to send their fish, their cattle, and their poultry to be sold in the large towns, and so the railways will be of great use to them.

3rd, the Congested Districts Board. Certain poor and overcrowded districts in Ireland are called congested districts. The Congested Districts Board makes a grant of money every year to the people in these districts for the improvement of their sheep, their cattle, their horses, their fishing, and their other means of gaining a livelihood.

We have received all these benefits from the Imperial Parliament. Why should we ask for Home Rule ?



## Would Home Rule give Mines to Ireland.

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SOME people think Home Rule would cause mines to be worked in Ireland, and thus give employment at home to men who are now obliged to go away to England and Scotland looking for work. But this is **ONLY A FANCY**; and Home Rule would have quite the opposite effect, for it would make **WORK HARDER TO FIND THAN EVER**.

There are some mines being worked in Ireland now, such as the coal mines of the County Kilkenny, the iron mines of the County Antrim, and the copper and lead mines of the County Wicklow. So it is quite untrue to say (as some do say) that the working of Irish mines is forbidden by the Parliament of England! Irishmen are perfectly free to work their mines now and make them pay, if they can. As to Home Rule, it certainly would not help us at all.

The coal mines of Ireland are few, and yield very poor coal. Most of the iron mines cannot be worked, because coal is wanted to work them, and the coal is so far away as a rule that the cost of carrying it would not be repaid out of the profits. As to the copper and lead, they are found only in two or three districts.

If we had more mines or better coal, they would have been discovered and worked years ago. English and Scotch companies are always ready to work mines. They are working mines now in Africa, Asia, America, and Australia. As far from this land as you could travel, mines are being worked by English and Scotch companies. If the minerals for which these Englishmen and Scotchmen send so far abroad were to be got in Ireland, of course, the English and Scotch companies would be only too glad to work the Irish mines. They go elsewhere instead, **BECAUSE THEY KNOW** that any attempt to work the **IRISH MINES WOULD BE A CLEAR LOSS OF MONEY**.

But if Ireland has not mines, she has plenty of other resources—good harbours, good fisheries, fine rivers, a mild climate, in many counties rich pastures, and, what is best of all, a hardy and intelligent race of people. Under the Union we have received great help from England in developing these resources, and many large sums borrowed from England (who can lend without risk to herself under our present system of Government), have been spent in giving work to our people. The latest proof of this is in the numerous Railway relief works started by Mr. Balfour. But the English Parliament has now passed a vote that **IF HOME RULE IS GIVEN NO MORE MONEY SHALL BE LENT TO IRELAND** for such purposes, so that under Home Rule we should have **LESS EMPLOYMENT** than under the Union, instead of having more!

# A SCOTTISH GLADSTONIAN M.P.

## CONDEMNS THE HOME RULE BILL.

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ON Friday, the 1st of September, 1893, the House of Commons (in which the British majority is outvoted by the aid of the Irish Nationalists), passed the third reading of the Home Rule Bill—a Bill which proposed to set up an independent Parliament in Ireland, and to increase the taxation of England and Scotland in order to pay Ireland for governing herself, but at the same time to leave 80 Irish members in the British Parliament with power to vote on English and Scotch questions, although Englishmen and Scotsmen were no longer to have any control over Irish questions.

Dr. Wallace, Gladstonian M.P. for East Edinburgh, had protested strongly against this monstrous inequality when it was first introduced, at a late stage in the Bill's progress through Parliament, on the 12th of July. Before the final division on the third reading,

### DR. WALLACE, M.P.,

delivered a second important speech on the subject, as follows:—

I have had the satisfaction of voting for the second reading of the Bill, and I regret that I will not be able to repeat that satisfaction in connection with the third reading. It is for me a sorrowful experience to find myself separated from my party, but it is not my fault. I have not gone away from the Bill and my party, but the Bill and the party have gone away from me. Like Joseph—I refer to the patriarch of that name—(laughter)—I find myself in a hole, a hole in which I have been put by my brethren, who thereupon abandoned me. Since the second reading of the Bill a good many things have happened, especially to what constitute

### *ITS MOST VITAL PARTS.*

I refer, of course, to the powers conferred upon the Irish members in this House. The Prime Minister has adopted tactics which seem to me to be diametrically opposed to his principles, and I am so much attached to the right hon. gentleman's principles that I am unable to follow his tactics. I find that the Bill has come out of Committee in a worse condition than when it entered it, and many of the most zealous friends of the measure now describe it as a

### *TRANSITORY, EXPERIMENTAL, AND PARTIAL*

version of Home Rule. I was sent to this House to support Home Rule, and not half Home Rule—to support a final settlement. and



not a scrap and instalment of Home Rule. I shall be told that half a loaf is better than no bread, but I demur to this application of that piece of proverbial philosophy. If one halves a loaf, one gets something which is worth taking, because, though diminished in quantity, it still possesses all the qualities of the original. But would any one say that half a watch is better than no chronometer (laughter), that half a fiddle was better than no orchestra (laughter), or that half a man, whether he were bisected vertically or horizontally, was better than nobody? (Laughter.) Similarly, is half Home Rule better than nothing is the nature of autonomy? Remember, the result of half Home Rule may be the creation of fresh Irish discontent and cabal in Dublin, and the continuation of the

### *OLD IRISH CONTROVERSY AND INTRIGUE*

at Westminster. At all events, I object to the use that is being made of this partial postponement of Home Rule. We are told that we must keep the Irish members in the House of Commons for all purposes because we are keeping so much of their business. This is no answer to those who, like myself,

### *OBJECT TO IRISH RULE*

in British affairs. (Cheers.) I do not want their land, or their taxation, or their police, or their judges, to be left here. **I do not want their luggage left in my hall; but if it is placed there, I do not see what right they have to sit down upon it.** (Laughter and cheers.) They may be very thankful that I do not throw their luggage into the street. (Laughter.) I regret deeply that this Bill, in the hands of this Government, will prove rather a strengthening than a weakening to the position of the House of Lords. (Cheers.) This seems to me a pretty Government and a

### *PRETTY PARTY TO ATTACK THE HOUSE OF LORDS,*

and a pretty Bill to attack it upon! The Government have changed the Bill essentially and made it into a self-contradictory measure. **The Bill now says that self-government is right for Ireland but that it is wrong for Britain.** (Cheers.) The change seems to me a vital, an extreme, and a perilous innovation, subversive of the principles of representative Government, and pregnant with the possibilities of future disaster, and I believe that the country will take the same view. (Cheers.) When

### *THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE*

come to understand that while not one of their 72 members is to have a syllable to say on Irish affairs, which will all be separately

and securely transacted by the Irish themselves in Ireland, there are still to be 80 Irish members in the House of Commons, who will have exactly a ninth part **more control over Scottish affairs than Scotland will itself have**—(cheers)—they will be of opinion that this is a

### **VERY UNJUST AND DANGEROUS**

proposal. And I shall be very much surprised if the English people will consent to a policy which means in practice **the irresponsible casting vote of Ireland in the most English of English concerns.** (Cheers.) If, at the General Election, Scotland and England with their eyes open declare that they desire to be ruled by an outside authority, if the cry of "one man one vote,

### **ONE IRISHMAN TWO VOTES"**

(laughter) carries the day, then I for one will be not, indeed, convinced, but silenced; but till that (to me) inconceivable event occurs, I will do what one humble individual can to warn such portions of the constituencies as my voice can reach against the iniquity and the danger with which I believe this Bill to be now charged. (Cheers.) I am told that I have already got my answer, because the Liberal Party, as a whole, has voted for the retaining of the Irish members for all purposes. Had the Liberal Party in that vote

### **THE MANDATE OF THE CONSTITUENCIES**

on this point? From my experience in different parts of the country, I should conclude that if this point had been clearly put to the constituencies at the last election they would have declared against Irish usurpation in British politics. Hitherto I have not noticed that the country has welcomed the

### **IRISH USURPATION**

with any great signs of enthusiasm or cordiality. I noticed that the Chief Secretary for Ireland at Newcastle, and also the Home Secretary in Northamptonshire on the previous night, gave this aspect of Home Rule, and indeed most aspects of Home Rule, a very wide berth. I have studied all that has been said in defence of the form that the Bill has now assumed. I applied my mind, of course, first of all to the Prime Minister's Midlothian letter; but it does not seem to me to be one of the most successful of the right hon. gentleman's performances. He says he deferred to the opinions of the House and the Party. If the right hon. gentleman had convened his party he would, I am sure, have persuaded them to follow the right course; and I cannot help thinking it is a very



great misfortune, indeed, that the finest head in this assembly should have been put to no better use than counting the noses of duller men. (Hear, hear.) Regarded as political coachmanship, I must say that I think it was

### **COACHMANSHIP EXTRAORDINARY.**

The coach was being driven slowly and surely up the hill with the most experienced and wariest driver on the road on the box, when the guard—a new guard—came forward and said he understood that the horses did not like the up-hill road and wanted to turn and go down. Strangely enough the champion driver, instead of saying “I know better than that,” merely remarked, “Is that so,” turned the team round (laughter), gave them their head, and off they rushed, with the result that the whole cavalcade must be turned into the nearest available potato field in order to secure and hold them. No doubt an overturn is better than a smash, but I hope when the Home Rule coach, with the necessary repairs—and they will have to be pretty extensive—is next put upon the road, that it will be

### **THE DRIVER AND NOT THE HORSES**

that will settle the course. (Laughter and cheers.) The Prime Minister does not condemn upon their merits the policies either of total exclusion or retention with limited powers. He does not say the in-and-out clause is unworkable; he says only that many members are of that opinion. What the Prime Minister says on behalf of the policy of Irish intrusion rests upon half a dozen distinct predictions, the general effect of which is, that, notwithstanding what has been said of dangerous and wholesale political intrigue, it may not after all do the damage some people expect. If that is so it is no consolation to me. Under the Bill there will be 80 exotic gentlemen from Ireland—(laughter)—in Parliament, with no representative character, and with no interest in British affairs; and their interference will become

### **AN INTOLERABLE BURDEN, IRRITATION AND NUISANCE.**

When Irishmen have obtained Home Rule their object will be to extend its scope, and in order to attain it **they will interfere with British interests as much as they have ever done.** (Cheers.)

## A DONEGAL PRIEST'S TRIBUTE TO MR. BALFOUR.

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On Friday, August 18th, 1893, a public meeting was held in Killybegs National Schoolhouse, Co. Donegal, in celebration of the opening of the first of Mr. Balfour's Donegal Railways. The Rev. Michael Martin, parish priest, presided, and opened the proceedings with an address, in the course of which, after acknowledging the efforts of the Duke of Abercorn and others, Father Martin spoke as follows :—

But there is another who is really the author of the railway. Who is that man? You all know without being told. He is the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour. (Applause.) When Chief Secretary for Ireland he made a grant of £116,500 to make the line. [A voice—Long may he live! (Renewed Applause.)] It would be base ingratitude on our part to allow this occasion to pass without public mention of his name, and thanking him for all he has done for us—not only for giving the grant, but also for starting the railway works at my own request for the relief of the distress among my poor parishioners. Before the contract was taken Mr. Balfour gave relief in goods. He clothed the poor children of our schools, and if he had remained Chief Secretary for Ireland we would now have a deep sea pier for our harbour. (Applause.) And, although out of office, he has not forgotten us; for, at a meeting of the Congested Districts Board in June, it was decided that the pier should be built. Mr. Balfour attended that meeting, and in the decision to proceed with the work we see the sympathetic advocacy of the Unionist ex-Chief Secretary, as well as the authority and influence of Mr. Morley, whom we also thank. Why should we not be grateful to Mr. Balfour? Coming to this country and finding destitution and disorder, he left it quite tranquil and in good order. He organised a gigantic private relief scheme. His was a policy of true practical benevolence and sympathy with distress. He and his Government made a network of railways through the congested districts of the country. He and his Government extended the Land Purchase, and granted free education in Ireland. The name of Balfour will for ever be associated with the prosperity of Killybegs, and its inhabitants have good reason to hold that name in grateful recognition for the great favours he has conferred upon us. (Applause.) I beg to suggest that a telegram be sent to Mr. Balfour to-day, to thank him and wish him a long, happy, and prosperous life. (Loud applause.)

A telegram was despatched to Mr. Balfour, thanking him for the railway.—*Daily Express*, 19th August, 1893.



# THE DUKE OF NORFOLK

(THE PREMIER CATHOLIC PEER),

## ON THE DANGERS OF HOME RULE.

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For the Protestants of Ireland the Government would be wielded by those whom they feel they cannot trust; and for the Catholics the Bill dangles before them dangerous temptations to a power and opportunities which can only be grasped by an unholy alliance with a movement whose strength is founded on means condemned by the Church, and whose leaders have openly defied the strength of the Holy See. To a country which requires that its resources should be developed, and trade and commerce sustained by a peaceful outlook and by confidence in the future, the Bill comes in such a shape that already capital and enterprise are flying; and on leaving the House of Commons the very last words said about it were words of protest from those to whom the Bill was supposed to be a boon, against its financial clauses. Surely we cannot but feel that that ominous ending of the debate was not so much a last word, as a prelude to that second agitation which will begin in Ireland, and be carried on with even greater vigour, because it will have this Bill for a foundation, and the encouragement of the action which brought this Bill about.—House of Lords debates (second reading of Home Rule Bill), September 5th, 1893.

### CAPITAL AND ENTERPRISE FLYING

In confirmation of the Duke of Norfolk's statement that "capital and enterprise" are flying at the approach of Home Rule, we have only to look at the official return of Irish Banking Statistics for the half-year (December, 1892—June, 1893).

From these figures it appears that the cash balances in **Joint-Stock Banks** in Ireland, which had increased without interruption since 1887 at an average half-yearly rate of £560,000, have in the half-year succeeding the introduction of the Home Rule Bill decreased by **£738,000**.

It also appears that the deposits in Irish **Savings Banks**, which for the preceding ten years had increased without interruption at the average rate per half-year of £108,000, have in the half-year following the introduction of the Home Rule Bill decreased by **£160,000**.

This includes a decrease of **£49,000** in the amount deposited in **Post Office Savings Banks**, this being the first time in the whole history of these institutions in which a decrease has ever occurred!

# FACTS FOR UNIONISTS.

## FROM IRISH SAVINGS BANKS STATISTICS.

THE tables given below are extracted from the official return of Banking, Railway, and Shipping Statistics, Ireland (June, 1893), presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. They show each half-yearly increase or decrease in Irish Savings Banks deposits from 1883 to 1893, and thus illustrate from official sources the unprecedented extent of the withdrawal of deposits which has taken place in the half-year following the introduction of the Home Rule Bill.

|       |               | Post Office Savings Banks. |           | Trustee Savings Banks. |           | Total Savings Bank Balances. |           |
|-------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-----------|
|       |               | Increase.                  | Decrease. | Increase.              | Decrease. | Increase.                    | Decrease. |
|       |               | £                          | £         | £                      | £         | £                            | £         |
| 1883. | 30th June ... | 76,000                     | —         | —                      | 14,000    | 62,000                       | —         |
|       | 31st December | 50,000                     | —         | —                      | 4,000     | 46,000                       | —         |
| 1884. | 30th June ... | 98,000                     | —         | 12,000                 | —         | 110,000                      | —         |
|       | 31st December | 74,000                     | —         | 25,000                 | —         | 99,000                       | —         |
| 1885. | 30th June ... | 101,000                    | —         | —                      | 75,000    | 26,000                       | —         |
|       | 31st December | 113,000                    | —         | —                      | 41,000    | 72,000                       | —         |
| 1886. | 30th June ... | 154,000                    | —         | 13,000                 | —         | 167,000                      | —         |
|       | 31st December | 111,000                    | —         | 13,000                 | —         | 124,000                      | —         |
| 1887. | 30th June ... | 99,000                     | —         | 23,000                 | —         | 122,000                      | —         |
|       | 31st December | 130,000                    | —         | 13,000                 | —         | 143,000                      | —         |
| 1888. | 30th June ... | 196,000                    | —         | —                      | 31,000    | 165,000                      | —         |
|       | 31st December | 111,000                    | —         | 17,000                 | —         | 128,000                      | —         |
| 1889. | 30th June ... | 133,000                    | —         | —                      | 1,000     | 132,000                      | —         |
|       | 31st December | 90,000                     | —         | 14,000                 | —         | 104,000                      | —         |
| 1890. | 30th June ... | 123,000                    | —         | —                      | 7,000     | 116,000                      | —         |
|       | 31st December | 138,000                    | —         | —                      | 62,000    | 76,000                       | —         |
| 1891. | 30th June ... | 155,000                    | —         | —                      | 1,000     | 154,000                      | —         |
|       | 31st December | 88,000                     | —         | —                      | 6,000     | 82,000                       | —         |
| 1892. | 30th June ... | 103,000                    | —         | —                      | 8,000     | 95,000                       | —         |
|       | 31st December | 135,000                    | —         | 9,000                  | —         | 144,000                      | —         |
| 1893. | 30th June ... | —                          | 49,000    | —                      | 111,000   | —                            | 160,000   |
|       |               |                            | Decrease. |                        | Decrease. |                              | Decrease. |

Thus, for the first time in the history of Post Office Savings Banks, a decrease has been substituted for the hitherto unbroken record of increase in the amount of deposit, and, for the first time for more than 10 years, there has been a decrease in the total balance obtained by adding the amounts in Trustee and Post Office Savings Banks together. The deposits in Trustee Savings Banks have fluctuated and, on the whole, decreased (owing largely to the increasing popularity of Post Office Savings Banks) during the ten years' period. But the decrease in the half-year ending June, 1893, was exactly **twenty times** the average half-yearly decrease for the whole period.



# HOW

## The Home Rule Bill would have Hampered British Finance.

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Mr. Chamberlain gave the House of Commons the following illustration of the difficulties in which the (revised) Financial Clauses of the Home Rule Bill would have landed a British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"The product of Irish **EXCISE** is about **one-tenth** of the total for the United Kingdom; **CUSTOMS** are **one-eighth** of the total; **INCOME-TAX** and **DEATH DUTIES** **one-twenty-fourth** of the total. For every £100 reduction in Imperial taxation, the following will be the result. On Excise, Irish Revenue will lose £10; Imperial contribution will lose £3 6s. 8d. On Customs, Irish Revenue will lose £12 10s., and the Imperial contribution will lose £4; and on Income-tax and Death Duties the Irish Revenue will lose £4, and the Imperial contribution will lose £1 6s. 8d.

"Let us assume that the British Chancellor of the Exchequer wanted to **REDUCE THE TEA DUTIES** and substitute direct taxation.

"If they were abolished, the total revenue of the United Kingdom would lose £3,400,000. The Irish loss would be one-eighth—£425,000, and our loss would be £142,000 in the contribution to the Imperial Exchequer. If the loss (of the £3,400,000) were replaced by additional Income-tax, Ireland would pay one-twenty-fourth—£142,000. **Her Imperial contribution on this would be £47,000, and we should lose, and Ireland would gain nearly £100,000 a year by the transaction.**"—House of Commons, 21st July, 1893.

Thus every step in the direction of **FREE BREAKFAST TABLES** would be rendered utterly impossible by the financial arrangement of the Home Rule Bill.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to depend more and more on the Customs' Duties, in order to avoid diminishing the contribution of Ireland while increasing that of England!

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THREE QUESTIONS  
TO THE  
TENANT-FARMERS  
OF  
IRELAND.

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# Tenant-Farmers of Ireland,

*Ask Yourselves Three Questions.*



1. What benefits which we at present enjoy will Home Rule take from us?
2. What benefits will it give us in return?
3. Will the gain compensate for the loss?

Your prosperity, and even your existence, depend upon the answers to these questions. If you make a mistake, it means

## R U I N.

In order to answer the first question, it is necessary to consider your present position with reference especially to the following matters :—

1. The moneys advanced by the Imperial Parliament for the construction of railways, and the development of other enterprises, and for purposes of land improvement, such as drainage, the erection of farm offices and dwellings, fences and labourers' cottages.
2. The moneys specially advanced to tenants to enable them to buy and become absolute owners of their holdings.
3. The present system of taxation for both Imperial and Local purposes.
4. The facilities offered by the English markets for disposing of cattle and agricultural produce.



First, as regards the moneys advanced for land improvement, railways, &c. :—

It appears from the report of the Public Works Commissioners that up to March 31st, 1892, the moneys advanced by Parliament for such purposes, through these Commissioners, amounted to £39,044,679, of which sum £22,386,679 had been repaid, and £7,989,504 had been forgiven, leaving £8,668,252 due.\* These land improvement and railway loans have been of lasting service to owners and tenants, not to speak of the great benefit conferred upon Ireland by the expenditure of such enormous sums in the country. They are repaid (principal and interest) by annual instalments for a limited number of years, which instalments are less in amount than the farmer has generally to pay as interest for an ordinary loan, while he remains indebted for the full principal sum. This is only possible because the credit of the Imperial Government is so good that it can borrow money at  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. It can therefore by lending the same money at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  or 4 per cent. repay itself both principal and interest in twenty-two or forty-nine years.

In the year 1890 Parliament voted by way of free gift to Ireland £908,000 for the purpose of constructing new railways.

The Home Rule Bill, Clause 16, Sub-clause 3, provides :—

That after the appointed day money for loans in Ireland shall cease to be advanced, either by the Public Works Commissioners or out of the Local Loans Fund.

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\* The above sums are exclusive of £3,729,448 advanced by the Public Works Loan Commissioners of England, for the construction of harbours, and for sanitary and other purposes.

It is clear then that the Home Rule Bill will deprive you of these benefits. The £600,000 which, on an average of the last fifteen years, has annually been poured into the country, will no longer be forthcoming. The new Irish Government will be unable to raise money at  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., or indeed on any terms which would make it possible to lend at a rate profitable to those who might wish to borrow. Under any circumstances, its credit at starting would be low, and few would be disposed to lend without substantial security to a Government which comprised among its leading members the managers of New Tipperary and of the *Freeman's Journal*.

Secondly, as regards the moneys provided by Parliament to enable tenant-farmers to purchase their holdings :—

Under the Irish Church Act, 1869, and the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, the sums of £1,674,841, £518,932 16s. 7d., and £240,811 respectively, were advanced to tenants for this purpose. Under the Ashbourne Acts Parliament voted ten millions of money for the benefit of Irish tenant-farmers ; and this large amount having been completely absorbed, Mr. Balfour's Act was passed in 1891, by which the enormous sum of thirty-three millions was granted to enable occupying tenants in Ireland to become the owners of their holdings, while it was also provided that the moneys gradually repaid might be lent out again for the same purpose, so that under no circumstances could the supply fail. Under this system you can purchase your farms, and can repay the purchase money by annual instalments, which, together with the rates, amount to not more than three-fourths of your previous rents. At the end of 49 years you or your successors become the absolute owners, and in the meantime, with the payment of each instalment, your interest is constantly increasing in value.



Another Act, passed in 1891, has conferred upon such purchasers a benefit, the value of which has not yet been fully recognized. The title of such purchasers is registered by the State free of expense. When the title to land is registered it can be sold or mortgaged with infinitely less trouble and expense than are incurred in such transactions under the present system.

The Act which granted this sum of £33,000,000 was not regarded with favour by the Gladstonian Party; and the long-continued silence of Mr. Gladstone as to the continuance of these grants was very ominous indeed. At present less than half a million out of the thirty has been promised to intending purchasers; and if the Home Rule Bill becomes law, it is not unlikely that the British taxpayer will strongly object to advancing the other thirty-two and a half millions on security of clearly diminished value.

Speaking at Derry on the 26th of May, Lord Salisbury said with reference to these loans :—

“ They can only be possible by the help of English credit, and English credit will not be to be had. I cannot imagine any circumstance which will more closely and injuriously affect the future of the inhabitants of the country, especially of the farming class, than the absolute stop which will be put to all these salutary operations by which men are made now the owners of the land they cultivate, and that will be one of the first and most certain consequences of Home Rule.”

Thirdly, as regards taxation :—

At present, the inhabitants of Ireland are more lightly taxed than any other people in Europe, including England and Scotland. This is a question of great importance, and you are bound, in your own interest, to ascertain whether the statement is true. You will often hear it contradicted :

but you will never hear it disproved. There are taxes levied in England which are unknown in Ireland: for example, the land tax and inhabited house duty, which in the financial year ending March 31st, 1892, produced £2,504,082 5s. 6d. There are also the assessed taxes, which however do not touch the poorer classes, and a railway duty; but the dog tax, which in Ireland is 2s. 6d., is 7s. 6d. in England. It is not surprising therefore to find from a Parliamentary paper published in 1886, and dealing with the financial year 1884-5, that the comparative contributions of Scotland, England, and Ireland to the revenue, per head of the population, were as follows:—Scotland, £2 5s. 7d. per head; England, £2 2s. 3d.; Ireland, £1 11s. 3d.

As the revenue drawn from England and Scotland has since then increased more in proportion than that of Ireland, a calculation now made ought to show a still greater difference in favour of the latter country. This calculation has been made, and the following is the result. In 1892-3 the revenue raised in Great Britain and Ireland amounted to £89,593,023 and £8,149,386, respectively. Taking the population of Great Britain to be 33,026,000, and that of Ireland to be 4,704,000, the charge per head is £2 14s. 3d. for Great Britain, as against £1 14s. 7d. for Ireland. In other words, each inhabitant of Ireland contributes 19s. 8d. less to the revenue of the United Kingdom than each inhabitant of England or Scotland.

A comparison of the Local Taxation of the two countries gives similar results. Rejecting the sums levied for water and gas, which would make the difference still more striking, the sums raised in Great Britain by Local Rates amount to about £31,000,000, and in Ireland to about £2,768,000, being equivalent to 18s. 9d. and 11s. 9d. per head of the



population respectively. If these sums are added to the £2 14s. 3d. and £1 14s. 7d. above mentioned, the result is £3 13s. 0d. per head for Great Britain, and £2 6s. 4d. for Ireland. In other words, each individual in Ireland contributes £1 6s. 8d. less than each individual in England or Scotland towards the general government of the country, and the transaction of its local business.

These are advantages which one might risk something to keep.

Even under the most favourable circumstances, the proposed change would expose you to the risk of heavier taxation. The payment of members and the cost of government offices will take an annual sum of at least £150,000. Many of the income tax payers, large and small, will leave the country ; and thus the revenue will lose both the income tax and the other taxes leviable from such persons while resident. Capital also will seek employment elsewhere ; and the industries, which have largely contributed to the revenue, will either disappear or reduce their operations. Labour must follow capital, and the revenue will further suffer from the departure of the working men with their families. Moreover, in some districts, the revenue will be difficult to collect. But there is one subject for taxation which cannot run away—the Land—and to it recourse will surely be had. Even if those at the head of affairs were very cautious, very experienced and very honest, they could not avoid the necessity of a Land Tax.

But apart from the benefit of light taxation, you enjoy other benefits of a similar nature which are not readily apparent, but the loss of which, under a change of system, would be felt

very grievously. A House of Commons Paper, No. 93, of 1893, gives the following figures:—In the financial year, 1892-3, the total revenue collected in Great Britain was £89,593,023, of which £29,083, 375, or less than one-third, was devoted to local expenditure, leaving £60,509,648, or more than two-thirds, available for Imperial purposes. The Irish Revenue gave £8,149,386, of which £6,021,810, or close on three-fourths, were devoted to local expenditure, leaving £2,127,576 available for Imperial expenditure. These figures must vary to some extent from year to year, but it is plain that Ireland has been getting back, in comparison with Great Britain, far more than her fair share of her contribution to the Revenue of the United Kingdom. This liberal allowance made to Ireland includes sums amounting to £1,814,365, which are granted for various purposes in Ireland, such as, among others, education, workhouse and reformatory and industrial schools, the maintenance of pauper lunatics, and assistance to medical charities, and to Boards of Guardians and Road Authorities in aid of poor rates and of rates for repairs of roads. Will it be possible for an Irish Government to continue these grants?

Mr. Sexton, M.P., at the Anti-Parnellite Convention held in Dublin on March 8th, 1893, is reported to have said that "headlong politicians at boards of guardians have pretended that under the Bill Ireland will lose local grants. These grants were now paid out of Irish money, and this money would be transferred to the Irish Legislature, which would have exactly the same power to pay these grants."

Mr. Sexton, M.P., is wrong. His statement is plausible, but incorrect. If Ireland contributed her proportional share to the Imperial expenditure, *i.e.*, about £5,250,000,



there would not be a farthing of Irish money left for local grants. It is because Great Britain takes for Imperial purposes out of the Irish Revenue two and a quarter millions only, instead of the five and a quarter millions which she would be entitled to take, that there is a residue forthcoming, apparently of Irish moneys, out of which these grants can be paid. But in order to permit of this being done, Great Britain has herself to pay towards the Imperial expenditure the three millions thus remitted to Ireland, and of which, in consequence, the Imperial Revenue would otherwise fall short. It is clear, therefore, that these grants really come out of Imperial and not out of Irish moneys.

Nor is Mr. Sexton more correct in saying that this *money* would be transferred to the Irish Legislature, which would have exactly the same power to pay these grants. What Mr. Gladstone first proposed to do was to take the Customs, amounting to £2,436,000, and to hand over to the Irish Legislature the rest of the Irish Revenue, which he estimated at £5,661,000. Having found that in this scheme he had over-estimated the Irish Revenue by £365,000, he now proposes to take, instead of the Customs, one-third of the estimated Irish Revenue, which after six years is to be collected by the Irish Government. In neither case is the arrangement equivalent to a transference of the *money* to the Irish Legislature. There is a vast difference between five and a half millions of solid cash paid out of the Imperial Exchequer, and the right to collect in Ireland five and a half millions of estimated Irish Revenue. Even if this Revenue could be collected, the Irish Legislature would not be bound to continue the local grants. But it has already been shown that the Revenue cannot possibly be maintained at the figure estimated by Mr. Gladstone. It will then be necessary to

curtail expenses, and the first reduction will be made by the withdrawal of the items least necessary to Government, *i.e.*, of the grants now paid in aid of local rates to Boards of Guardians, Corporations, and Town Commissioners, and in aid of the County Cess. The result must be a large increase in the Rates and County Cess, which will press very heavily on the occupiers of land.

To put the point more simply :—

As long as you remain connected with Great Britain, as at present, these large sums in aid of the Local Rates will be paid out of the general Revenue of the United Kingdom, no matter whether the Revenue contributed by Ireland increase or decrease. But when you have got Home Rule, these payments must be made out of Irish Revenue alone. If the Irish Revenue falls short, or if the Irish Government uses it for other purposes, which is not impossible, your Local Rates and County Cess will be increased to make up the deficiency.

Fourthly, as regards the free use of the English market for Irish cattle and agricultural produce :—

The advantages to Irish farmers of the present system, and the danger arising from any change, may be summed up very shortly. The great cattle trade of Ireland, with which the prosperity of three provinces is so closely bound up, depends not only upon the maintenance of the privileges now existing, but upon the exclusion of other countries from sharing in such privileges. Not long ago a body of Scotch farmers asked the President of the Board of Trade to remove the existing restrictions on Canadian cattle, and to place Canada and Ireland on the same footing as regards the importation of cattle into Great Britain.



Mr. Mundella replied—"You must remember that Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, and therefore is entitled to privileges that we could not think of granting to Canada." If Ireland ceased to be part of the United Kingdom it would not have been so easy to refuse to a British Colony the privileges enjoyed by Ireland. The ocean is now crossed with such speed, and the cost of transit is so small, that Canadian competition might, under such circumstances, prove a real disaster to Ireland. "Suppose," as Mr. R. Wilkinson, a large salesmaster in Dublin, puts it in a letter to the *Irish Times*, "that a deputation of English farmers should wait on the President of the Board of Trade in London, and persuade him that our cattle are affected with pleuro-pneumonia, and urge in their own interest that an embargo be put on our cattle, or that they should be slaughtered at the port of debarkation, what would be our position if this state of things was brought about? Why, sir, it hardly bears consideration. It would just mean bankruptcy with one fell stroke to the three provinces—Leinster, Munster and Connaught."

On this point Lord Salisbury's speech at Derry is again worth quoting :—

"You must not shut your eyes to the fact that England now shuts her ports to every foreign country against the importation of live cattle, for fear of the importation of disease, which has inflicted such intense injury upon the inhabitants of Great Britain that it has gradually become the policy of the English Government, I believe, under every party. Ireland is happily in no sense a foreign country. The importation of Irish cattle is free, but if the political connection of the countries is practically severed, do you imagine that the liberty will continue?"

The next important question which you have to answer is this :—

What benefits will Home Rule give to tenant-farmers in return for the losses and risks above described?

In the first place, you will have the management of your own affairs. The men who have obtained this boon for you will keep the management in their own hands ; and you will be governed by Messrs. Healy, Sexton, Dillon, O'Brien, and the Redmonds. These men have obtained a great success in harassing the Imperial Government and obstructing legislation in Parliament. But when they have put their hands to anything in the nature of a constructive policy, as in the case of the Migration Company, New Tipperary, and the *Freeman's Journal*, their failure has been woeful and complete. If, as is sometimes suggested, you dismiss them from your service, they will be very competent to make the management difficult for their successors. The utmost therefore that can at present be said is that this advantage is of a sentimental rather than of a solid and substantial nature ; and bearing in mind that the Gladstonian party, including Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, have submitted to the insertion of a clause in the Bill for maintaining the complete supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, which will also be secured by the retention at Westminster of the full number of Irish members, this unsubstantial advantage will lose a good deal even of its sentimental value.

The real advantage which you have a chance of securing is the further reduction of your rents—in other words, the confiscation of the remaining portion of your landlords' property. This has been promised to you by your future governors, and you will be able to make them keep their pledges ; but there are still some points which require consideration. The process, however determined your representatives may be, will not proceed with all the speed which you might desire. In the first place, the Bill, as it stands, withdraws the cognizance of the Land Question from the



Irish Legislature for the space of three years. It is possible that this period may be extended, seeing that under the scheme of 1886 the whole matter was reserved for the Imperial Parliament. Secondly, it may appear to the Irish Legislature more desirable, as a matter of mere prudence, to abolish the landlords by a gradual process. This, however, is a minor point, as the result must be the same.

But when, through the abolition of rents and landlords, you have reached the Promised Land, you will find yourselves confronted by a new and, perhaps, a less merciful set of task-masters. The labourer, who has been kept rather quiet for a long time, will rightly deem that his time also has come. He will assert his right to a man's share in the land of the country into which he has been born. His ranks will be recruited by all the persons whom the disappearance of the landlords will have thrown out of work. His success will depend, as yours has done, upon his ability to send members to Parliament who will obstruct all business until their demands are complied with; and, as Ireland is so largely agricultural, he will accomplish this much more easily in an Irish Parliament than in the British House of Commons.

Under these circumstances it is not unlikely that an agitation for the purpose of nationalizing the land will be set on foot. Those who favour this doctrine, of which Mr. Davitt is the apostle, maintain that the land of a country belongs to the people of the country, and not to those alone who happen to be in occupation. Under this system, which demands, in the interest of the State, that every man should have a sufficient quantity of land to enable him to live and thrive, it will not be tolerated that some of you should have a hundred acres, while others have only two or three, and some none at all.

The State, which will then be practically your landlord, will exact a rent or land tax of greater or lesser amount, according to its necessities. It must be remembered that every solvent person who quits the country inflicts to some extent a loss upon the revenue. The departure of the land-owning class, and of the other persons already mentioned, who have no particular reason for remaining, will cause a serious diminution of the amount produced both by the direct and indirect taxes ; and, for the purpose of recouping this loss, the imposition of a Land Tax will be found to be at once the simplest and most equitable plan.

As to the third question—Will the gain compensate for the loss? This can best be answered by summing up the result of the preceding remarks.

First—As to losses :—

- (a) You will certainly lose the benefit of the loans for land improvement, railways, &c., which the Commissioners of Works have been advancing at the rate of £600,000 a year. This is provided by the Bill.
- (b) You will probably lose the benefit of Mr. Balfour's Act of 1891, by which thirty-three millions are provided for loans to tenant-farmers desirous of purchasing their holdings.
- (c) You will certainly lose the benefit which you now enjoy, solely through your close connection with Great Britain, of being far more lightly taxed, and far more lightly rated, than the inhabitants of England and Scotland. Both your taxes and your local rates must largely increase.
- (d) You will run a very serious risk of ruin to your cattle trade through the competition of Colonial importers, and the jealousy of English and Scotch farmers. The latter have already tried to have your privileges extended to Canada.



Secondly—As to the gains :—

- (a) You will have the satisfaction of being ruled by your own countrymen, who as yet have had no experience, and have failed signally when they attempted to deal with business matters unconnected with wire-pulling and obstruction.
- (b) You will have a good chance of abolishing your landlords, but the process may be slower than you anticipate. When you have succeeded in this, you will, in all probability, have to share your gains with those who get their livelihood from the land, but own very little of it, or none at all. And the State will surely look to you to recoup the loss of revenue which it suffers from a cause which has been a source of gain to you, viz. :—the departure of those to whose property you have succeeded.

You are now in a position to decide. The facts and figures above stated are accurate, and cannot either be gainsaid or explained away. The consequences resulting from the enactment of this measure are as clear as any future events of the sort can be. Some people are supporting Home Rule because they think it cannot be carried ; but if, through ecclesiastical influence or for any other reason, you follow their example, you must not be dissatisfied when these consequences overtake you.

Hitherto, you, the tenant-farmers of Ireland, have enjoyed the reputation of being fairly shrewd and sensible men. This may or may not be an accurate estimate of your capacity ; but you will at any rate have, at the next General Election, an opportunity of proving that you are not absolute fools.

# MURDERED ON DUTY.

## How a District-Inspector was Butchered.

On Sunday, February 3rd, 1889, a body of police, under Inspector Lennon, appeared in the neighbourhood of Derrybeg Chapel, about five miles from the Gweedore Hotel, during the hours of service. Father M'Fadden, the officiating priest, had neglected to obey a summons with which he had been served, with the result that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. District-Inspector Martin, from Ballyshannon, was posted beside the chapel door with four constables.

"On the Rev. James M'Fadden emerging from the chapel District-Inspector Martin, with the four men, tried to arrest him; but he pushed on to the door of his house, one hundred yards away from the chapel. On reaching it he stopped, and **the crowd thereupon rushed up and attacked the police with sticks and stones. District-Inspector Martin was felled to the ground with a large stick, and the others all received wounds, and some were knocked down.** The crowd then hastily dispersed.

"Fifty police, who had been four hundred yards off, under County-Inspector Lennon, now arrived, and Father M'Fadden was arrested at noon. The injured officer was attended by Surgeon Cowen, but was **found to be dying**, and he expired at 3 p.m."—*Dublin Mail*, 4th February, 1889.

"At the coroner's inquest, Dr. Cowen deposed:—There were four lacerated wounds of the scalp, three inches, one, and one-and-a-half inches respectively in length, and the top and back part of the skull was completely smashed in. There were nine fragments of bone completely detached, and two portions driven into the substance of the brain. A large portion of the bones of the skull were almost detached. The bones of the nose were broken. There was a punctured wound on the left forehead, with extensive bruising. There was a large bruise on the left cheek. There was a circular wound one inch and-a-half in diameter on the right elbow, and there was a contusion on the left shin."—*Irish Times*, 5th February, 1889.

[SEE THE OTHER SIDE.]



# 100 MURDERS.

THE hundred persons named below (including an old woman of 80 and a little girl of 4) were **MURDERED** in Ireland from agrarian and political motives during the period of Land League ascendancy (1879-88).

|                              |                      |                             |                      |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Bridget M'Cullagh         | ... Feb. 23rd, 1879  | 51. Corporal Robt Wallace.  | June 8th, 1882       |
| 2. James Miller              | ... July 14th, 1879  | 52. John Duane              | ... June, 1882       |
| 3. Michael Ball ...          | ... Dec. 4th, 1879   | 53. Patrick Cahill          | ... June 27th, 1882  |
| 4. Edmund Brereton           | ... Jan. 4th, 1880   | 54. J. H. Blake ...         | ... June 29th, 1882  |
| 5. John Freeman              | ... Jan. 16th, 1880  | 55. Teddy Ruane             | ... June 29th, 1882  |
| 6. Bernard Morris            | ... Aug. 2nd, 1880   | 56. John Kenny              | ... July 4th, 1882   |
| 7. Charles D. Boyd           | ... Aug. 13th, 1880  | 57. Murty Fernane           | ... July 9th, 1882   |
| 8. David Feerick             | ... Aug. 14th, 1880  | 58. — Connell ...           | ... July 14th, 1882  |
| 9. Viscount Mountmorres...   | Sept. 25th, 1880     | 59. John Doloughy           | ... July 19th, 1882  |
| 10. Ryan Foley ...           | ... Sept., 1880      | 60. Constable Ed. Brown     | ... Aug. 12th, 1882  |
| 11. Michael Boylan           | ... Sept. 30th, 1880 | 61. John Joyce ...          | ... Aug. 17th, 1882  |
| 12. Henry Wheeler            | ... Nov. 12th, 1880  | 62. Bridget Joyce           | ... Aug. 17th, 1882  |
| 13. Peter Mullen ...         | ... Dec. 20th, 1880  | 63. Michael Joyce           | ... Aug. 17th, 1882  |
| 14. Patrick Dynan            | ... Jan. 2nd, 1881   | 64. Peggy Joyce             | ... Aug. 17th, 1882  |
| 15. Patrick Farrelly         | ... Mar. 4th, 1881   | 65. Peggy Joyce (junior)    | ... Aug. 17th, 1882  |
| 16. Patrick Lyden            | ... April 23rd, 1881 | 66. John Leahy ...          | ... Aug. 20th, 1882  |
| 17. Martin Lyden             | ... April 23rd, 1881 | 67. Thomas Hunt             | ... Oct. 2nd, 1882   |
| 18. Peter Dempsey            | ... May 25th, 1881   | 68. Thomas Brown            | ... Oct. 3rd, 1882   |
| 19. Mrs. Reilly ...          | ... May, 1881        | 69. Detective-Constable Cox | Nov. 25th, 1882      |
| 20. — Lynch                  | ... July 18th, 1881  | 70. John Sheridan           | ... Jan. 2nd, 1883   |
| 21. Michael Moloney          | ... Oct. 22nd, 1881  | 71. Constable Linton        | ... July 24th, 1883  |
| 22. Peter Doherty            | ... Nov. 2nd, 1881   | 72. Timothy Sullivan        | ... Sept. 14th, 1883 |
| 23. Patrick Halloran         | ... Nov. 12th, 1881  | 73. John Moylan             | ... Sept. 15th, 1883 |
| 24. Luke Dillon ...          | ... Nov. 17th, 1881  | 74. Mr. Crotty ...          | ... Sept. 27th, 1883 |
| 25. James Brennan            | ... Dec. 13th, 1881  | 75. James Spence            | ... Oct. 14th, 1883  |
| 26. Mrs. Croughan            | ... Dec. 31st, 1881  | 76. Patrick Quinn           | ... Oct. 27th, 1883  |
| 27. Joseph Huddy             | ... Jan. 1st, 1882   | 77. — M'Mahon               | ... Aug. 15th, 1884  |
| 28. John Huddy ...           | ... Jan. 1st, 1882   | 78. — Spillane ...          | ... Nov. 14th, 1884  |
| 29. — Hennessy ...           | ... Jan. 20th, 1882  | 79. John Rahen ...          | ... Dec. 25th, 1884  |
| 30. Thomas Abram             | ... Jan. 22nd, 1882  | 80. — Tonery ...            | ... Dec. 29th, 1884  |
| 31. John Lennane             | ... Jan. 24th, 1882  | 81. Mr. Cashman             | ... June 14th, 1885  |
| 32. John Dillon ...          | ... Feb. 20th, 1882  | 82. John Ryan ...           | ... Sept. 13th, 1885 |
| 33. Constable Kavanagh       | ... Feb. 20th, 1882  | 83. Edmund Allen            | ... Jan. 16th, 1886  |
| 34. Patrick Freely           | ... Feb. 24th, 1882  | 84. Daniel O'Brien          | ... April 3rd, 1886  |
| 35. — Connolly ...           | ... Feb. 25th, 1882  | 85. Patrick Quigley         | ... May 16th, 1886   |
| 36. Michael Moroney          | ... Feb. 26th, 1882  | 86. David Barry             | ... May 29th, 1886   |
| 37. Thomas Gibbons           | ... Mar. 17th, 1882  | 87. Patrick Taugney         | ... June 4th, 1886   |
| 38. Peter Andrews            | ... Mar. 19th, 1882  | 88. Patrick Flahire         | ... Aug. 30th, 1886  |
| 39. Joseph M'Mahon           | ... Mar. 28th, 1882  | 89. John Byers ...          | ... Feb. 15th, 1887  |
| 40. A. E. Herbert            | ... Mar. 30th, 1882  | 90. Cornelius Murphy        | ... Feb. 20th, 1887  |
| 41. Mrs. H. M. Smythe        | ... April 2nd, 1882  | 91. Daniel Baker            | ... April 10th, 1887 |
| 42. — Roache ...             | ... April 17th, 1882 | 92. John Connell            | ... May 3rd, 1887    |
| 43. John O'Keefe             | ... April 30th, 1882 | 93. Timothy Hurley          | ... June 13th, 1887  |
| 44. Lord Frederick Cavendish | May 6th, 1882        | 94. Hd.-Constable Whelehan  | Sept. 11th, 1887     |
| 45. E. Burke ...             | ... May 6th, 1882    | 95. Patrick Quirke          | ... Nov. 8th, 1887   |
| 46. — Connors ...            | ... May 12th, 1882   | 96. James Fitzmaurice       | ... Jan. 31st, 1888  |
| 47. — O'Donnell ...          | ... May 22nd, 1882   | 97. James Quinn             | ... May 7th, 1888    |
| 48. Cornelius Hickey         | ... June 8th, 1882   | 98. Peter M'Carthy          | ... May 27th, 1888   |
| 49. Henry East ...           | ... June 8th, 1882   | 99. James Ruane             | ... July 28th, 1888  |
| 50. Walter Bourke            | ... June 8th, 1882   | 100. John Forhan            | ... July 28th, 1888  |

N.B.—The list of **Attempted Murders** during the same period is, of course, much greater.

# THE LIBERAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

## I. A GLADSTONIAN MINISTERIAL VINDICATION.

MR. GLADSTONE's present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, MR. BRYCE, M.P., gave the following justification for such actions by the House of Lords as its recent rejection of the Home Rule Bill, in a speech made in the House of Commons, on May 17th, 1889.

"The existence of a Second Chamber is confirmed by reason itself, because tyranny may proceed from a body as well as from one man; and it is a protection that the ruling body should be divided into two branches, the emulation and even the rivalry of which may prevent dangerous measures from being hurried through. That opinion is gaining ground in this country. During the agitation in the autumn of 1884 there were probably many who thought we ought only to have one Chamber, and that the House of Lords should be extinguished, but I believe that that feeling has declined, and has declined even in the stern breast of the hon. member for Northampton; and I believe that generally there is a strong feeling in the country that the House of Commons ought not to have the sole charge of the interests of the nation. The House now is different from what it was in 1884. It is not only a more democratic body and more responsive to gusts of outside feeling, but it is much changed in its inner working and construction. The introduction of the closure, the way the closure is worked, and above all its application to the passing of the Crimes Act in 1887 and the Commission Bill of last year, rendering the recurrence of similar expedients more likely, makes this House a totally different body from what it was before, and renders it necessary to provide safeguards against the dangers of precipitate action which did not exist in 1884."

## II. AN IRISH NATIONALIST VINDICATION.

MR. PARNELL, speaking at Liverpool, on November 10th, 1885, replying to Mr. Gladstone's demand for a majority which should be independent of the Irish vote, used the following language:—

It appeared to him that if they took Mr. Gladstone at his word, voted for his candidates, and gave him a large majority independent of the Irish party, which he claimed to be necessary for any English Ministry before it could consider the Irish national question, they would find themselves in this position. They would present their claims for consideration to Mr. Gladstone, and if he agreed with them he would probably bring in a Bill which, after passing the House of Commons would go up to the Lords, who would say to Mr. Gladstone—"You never submitted the principles or the details of the Bill to the judgment of the electors at the



general election, and we consider it is right, in a question of such enormous gravity as this, of the national relations between England and Ireland, that the electors of England and Scotland should have an opportunity of passing judgment upon it; and we will throw out this Bill and compel you to dissolve Parliament." That would be a very abortive result of the general election, but under the circumstances it appeared to him that the House of Lords would only be carrying out their constitutional right by rejecting a Bill, the details of which had not been before the country at the general election.—*Times*, November 11th, 1885.

### III. THE LIBERAL UNIONIST VINDICATION

is given in the following extracts from the speeches of Liberal Peers (all former colleagues of Mr. Gladstone), delivered in the debate in the House of Lords on the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill. [It may be borne in mind that had the Conservative Peers unanimously stood aside from the division, and left the voting to the Liberal Peers alone, there would still have been an overwhelming majority for the rejection of the Bill. The 41 Peers who supported the Bill were, indeed, outvoted by Peers directly bound to Mr. Gladstone by the ties of office, of elevation to the Peerage, and of advancement within the ranks of the Peerage—of whom 43 voted against the Bill.]

#### THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

(*Mr. Gladstone's ex-Lord Privy Seal, etc.*)

The passage of this Bill through the House of Commons, and its arrival here, is not one fact, but contains a dozen other facts within itself. I will mention some of them. The first cardinal fact is that the Bill which does so come is a Bill for effecting revolutionary changes in the Constitution of this country. The second cardinal fact is that it has come to this House by the employment of revolutionary means. The third cardinal fact is that it has been sent to this House by a majority of only 5 per cent. of the whole House of Commons. The fourth cardinal fact is that in every important case there has been a large British majority against its provisions. And the fifth cardinal fact is that this Bill has never been before the people of this country. In these circumstances the people look to your lordships' House, to say the least of it, to give them time to think. We are not only met to reject it; it is expected and it is demanded of us. I have sometimes speculated within the last week what would happen if a majority of this House, by some terrible act of weakness were to allow this Bill to pass. What would be the feeling of the country next morning? Over a great part of Ireland it would be a feeling of absolute dismay; and I believe that with the great majority of the people of Great Britain there would be feelings of indignation and of shame.

## EARL COWPER

*(Mr. Gladstone's ex-Lord Lieutenant of Ireland).*

What is the opinion of the people of England regarding this measure? Even at the last election there was no demonstration in its favour, and the people have not been consulted on many of its most important provisions. They have not been consulted, for instance, in regard to the retention of the Irish members. On the contrary, they were led to expect that the Irish members would be retained only for Imperial purposes; but their retention for all purposes has never been before the country. Then there is the question of Imperial control. On every Gladstonian platform in the country it has been said that there is to be such and such control. That part of the Bill has been shown up, and no one can say that the Imperial control now proposed is of much good. I am convinced, as, I think, are most of your lordships, that if the people were to give an opinion now they would give it against the Bill. In every free country of the civilised world there is some check in order to prevent any fundamental change in the Constitution. We are not accustomed to look to foreign countries for any lesson in Parliamentary government, because we think that we know very much more about it. But if a gigantic alteration like this was to be made in a single session, by the aid of the closure, without adequate discussion, and by the vote of a small majority, our Constitution would become one of the crudest and most dangerous description. If for the future the closure was not to be the exception, but the rule—if the Second Chamber was to be abolished, or only to exist on the condition that it performed no functions—we would be in such a state of anarchy that we would be obliged to adopt some check like those of other nations in order to prevent violent changes in the Constitution. But the danger is upon us. There may be a better check than a Second Chamber. Like many of your lordships, I have always been in favour of reform in regard to this House. But when the coach is in full gallop is not the time to think whether it is fitted with the best possible brake; we must use the one we have got to the best possible advantage. For the sake of the people of this country, especially when nine-tenths of them are of opinion that the Bill will be most disastrous to the Empire, and most of all to Ireland, your lordships ought to insist on this Bill being referred to the country.

## THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

*(Mr. Gladstone's colleague in every Liberal Cabinet until 1885; and the leader of the Liberal Party from 1874 to 1880).*

I maintain that this is a question of such magnitude, so closely touching the fundamental institutions of the State, that if there is any object in the existence of a Second Chamber at all, it is, at all events, to prevent changes of this character from being made without the absolute certainty that they are in accordance with the will of the majority of the people.



## THE EARL OF SELBORNE

*(Mr. Gladstone's ex-Lord Chancellor).*

What has become of the principle that taxation and representation should go together? Under this Bill as it stands, 80 Irish members—as to whom you will have renounced practically and for all purposes, except such as might occur in civil war or insurrection, the power of domestic government, the power of legislating for Ireland, and the power of taxing Ireland—are to come here and to tax the inhabitants of Great Britain with burdens of which they will have no share. They are to be brought in to turn minorities into majorities, for the overthrow or the change of British institutions from the greatest to the least, for the disestablishment of Churches, for changing the constitution of the British Parliament, for anything else which a party in this country—not being otherwise in a majority—may desire and demand. That is to establish a despotism and a tyranny in favour of Irish minorities over British majorities. . . . And this change was effected by Irish votes! Now, I should be the last person to deny that the action of an Irish majority upon an Irish question is to be regarded with respect, and is perfectly legitimate; but that our Constitution also should be altered by Irish votes against the sense of the British majority is a thing which seems to me, in the circumstances, in the highest degree intolerable, and I hope the country thinks so too, and will show it. It points to a state of things so unprecedented as to be nothing less than prodigious. A good many Liberal members thought so, probably more than we know. Mr. Labouchere is against it; so are Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. R. T. Reid, Sir E. Reed, Dr. Clark, Mr. Wallace, and Mr. Rathbone—the last-named as honourable, fair-minded, and reasonable a man and as loyal a member of his party as any one that exists—and how many more I do not know. But the majority of these men, for the sake of party allegiance, or for the sake of whatever value they attached to other provisions of the Bill, voted for the third reading, though Mr. Wallace and Mr. Rathbone maintained the courage of their convictions and did not. I say there has not been any opportunity of taking the real sense of the House of Commons, under these circumstances, on that proposal. . . . Now it is before your lordships, after having been passed in the House of Commons by a majority of the Irish members against a majority of the representatives of Great Britain; and if there were any duty, the shrinking or retreating from which would be an act of the most abject meanness and cowardice, it is the duty of giving to the British people an opportunity of saying whether they agree with the majority of their own representatives or not.

# HOME RULE AND EDUCATION.

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THE following article from the *Irish Daily Independent* of September 12th, 1893, is valuable as a *Nationalist* exposure of the true attitude of the Irish Roman Catholic priests and their satellites towards educational reform:—

The Compulsory Clauses of the Education Act passed for Ireland by the late Government come into force, as is generally known, on the 1st January next. Considering the comparatively short time that remains for the organisation of the necessary School Attendance Committees in the towns, it is not a little strange that *nothing whatever has been done in a practical way in the South of Ireland*. A considerable time ago the matter was before the Cork Corporation, and it was then decided that the Act should be carried out by that body. It was further decided that steps be taken for the purpose in the way of summoning a meeting, to include the representative men connected with the schools of the city. No such meeting has ever since been held, and to all appearances, *the whole thing is almost forgotten*. Now, there is not a place in Ireland where compulsory education is more needed than in Cork. *The streets, especially in the back slums of the city, swarm with children of school-going years, who apparently never attend school at all*. Anything like apathy, therefore, in the enforcement of the salutary provisions of the Compulsory Act would amount to a serious neglect of duty on the part of the corporation. But in the country towns, where compulsion is equally needed, the case is far worse. *Boards of Town Commissioners are refusing point-blank to take any part in the matter. The Middleton Board, for instance, have definitely declined to enforce the Act*. It is stated that *this refusal will be general throughout the country towns*. The attitude of such boards as that of Middleton, where the trouble and expense attending the enforcement of the Act would be trifling, is, to say the least of it, very suspicious. Such Boards are not free agents in the matter. The school managers, as a rule, are opposed to the appointment of Committees for enforcing the Act, as they look upon such a move as an infringement on their hitherto autocratic power over the schools and their teachers. The need of compulsion is so pressing, and so generally acknowledged, that no trifling should be tolerated with what is really a very useful scheme.

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And yet Home Rulers complain that under the Union, Irish Protestants receive more than their due share (on the population basis) of offices of trust and responsibility.



# THE STAIN OF ILLITERACY.

## A NATIONALIST M.P. ON PRIESTLY INFLUENCE.

"When we have compulsory education the stain of illiteracy which has been placed on our country by the clergy of Ireland will rapidly disappear. . . . When a number of men, especially belonging to the class of voters that came up at the last election, declare themselves unable to write their names, then that puts a stigma of everlasting disgrace on the body of men who could, by the proper exercise of their functions, have prevented that illiteracy; and the matter becomes aggravated when we find that body of men encourage those who are not illiterate to declare themselves illiterate, in order that they may still be under the thumb of an illegitimate power, so that their votes can be scrutinised and adverted on hereafter."—*Speech of Dr. Kenny, Nationalist M.P., at National League Meeting in Dublin, August 29th, 1893 (Irish Daily Independent, August 30th.)*

The remarks quoted above having been noticed and commented upon by the *Times*, Dr. Kenny at the next meeting of the National League (September 12th) made the following "explanatory statement":—

"The *Times* has published an interpretation of my remarks which is untrue. I was speaking on the question of compulsory education, and I referred to the illiteracy stamped upon our people through the unfortunate intervention in such a connection of the priests of the Catholic Church. What I said was that, from what I could not but regard as a base and disgraceful motive—namely, to exercise spiritual powers over the minds of the more ignorant of their flocks, to keep them in spiritual bondage with regard to politics—they did not hesitate at the recent general election to compel by spiritual means, or by such inducements as amounted to compulsion, thousands of voters in Ireland who were able to read and write to declare in the books that they were unable to read and write, and thereby put on their country the stigma of illiteracy to an extent unknown in any other portion of Europe. I did not say that the priests of Ireland kept the people in ignorance. But I will say in that connection that, so far as the illiteracy of the people is a fact, the priests have failed to compel the people to educate themselves and I say that there never was greater nonsense spoken by a human being than the words uttered by the (Roman Catholic) Archbishop of Dublin, when he declared that the attempt to make education in Ireland compulsory was an insult to the people."—*Irish Daily Independent, September 13th, 1893.*

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# Who Defeated the Home Rule Bill?

It is alleged by Gladstonian Radicals that the Home Rule Bill was thrown out by a permanent Conservative majority in the House of Lords.

On the contrary, it was defeated without the need of so much as one Conservative vote.

And not only were its supporters outvoted (and that by a large majority) by the Liberal Peers alone; but they were outvoted even by peers who have actually received either office or title from Mr. Gladstone!

Of the peers who voted against the Bill the following were originally created peers by Mr. Gladstone:—

|                                                                                                                                        |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <i>Lords Selborne, Alcester, Carlingford, Herries,<br/>Hothfield, Lingen, Monk-Bretton, Revelstoke,<br/>Rothschild, and Stalbridge</i> | 10 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

The following were advanced in the peerage by Mr. Gladstone:—

|                                                                                                                                                                                    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <i>The Dukes of Fife and Westminster, and Lords<br/>Southesk, de Vesci, Dunning, Ettrick, Lis-<br/>towel, Howth, Northington, Powerscourt,<br/>Normanton, Arran, and Tweeddale</i> | 13 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

The following have inherited peerages of Mr. Gladstone's creation:—

|                                                                                                            |   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Lords Hampden, Portman, Amptill, Castle-<br/>town, Cottesloe, Lawrence, Tennyson, and<br/>Wolverton</i> | 8 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|

And the following (excluding those enumerated under former heads) have held political office under Mr. Gladstone:—

|                                                                                                                                                                           |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <i>The Dukes of Argyll and Devonshire, and Lords<br/>Zetland, Camperdown, Cooper, Dartrey,<br/>Morley, Northbrook, Strafford, Kenmare, Suf-<br/>field, and Wrottesley</i> | 12 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

|                                                                                             |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Thus the peers bound to Mr. Gladstone by office or<br>title who voted against the Bill were | 43 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

|                                                                      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| And the peers who supported the Bill, taken altogether,<br>were only | 41 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

Under such circumstances it is clear that **no Second Clamber in the world** would have passed a similar Bill.



But if the charge of partisanship breaks down as regards the Unionist Peers, how does it stand with reference to those who voted for the Home Rule Bill?

These were forty-one in number.

But of the forty-one, those who were not bound to Mr. Gladstone either by ties of office, or by owing him titles, were **ONLY FIVE!**

Mr. Gladstone had created the following :—

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |   |   |   |   |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|----|
| Lord Herschell, the Marquess of Breadalbane, Viscount Oxenbridge, and Lords Aberdare, Acton, Battersea, Brassey, Coleridge, Farrer, Hamilton of Dalzell, Hawkesbury, Hobhouse, Kelhead, Northbourne, Overton, Playfair, Stanmore, Swansea, and Thring | - | - | - | - | 13 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|----|

Of the remaining twenty-two, the following hold office under Mr. Gladstone at the present time :—

|                                                                                                                                                  |   |   |   |   |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|----|
| Lords Kimberley, Ripon, Chesterfield, Spencer, Carrington, Camoys, Houghton, Kensington, Monkswell, Sandhurst, Rosebery, Vernon, and Ribblesdale | - | - | - | - | 13 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|----|

Of the remaining twelve—

|                                                                                          |   |   |   |   |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|----|
| Lords Brabourne and Greville have inherited peerages of Mr. Gladstone's creation         | - | - | - | - | 2  |
| Lord Reay was advanced in the peerage by Mr. Gladstone                                   | - | - | - | - | 1  |
| And the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine held office under Mr. Gladstone as recently as 1886 | - | - | - | - | 1  |
| Total                                                                                    | - | - | - | - | 36 |

Were the two Houses of Parliament, as at present constituted, to meet and vote together on the Home Rule Bill, the following would be the result :—

|                                     | LORDS. | COMMONS. | TOTAL. |
|-------------------------------------|--------|----------|--------|
| For the Bill                        | 41     | 301      | 342    |
| Against the Bill                    | 419    | 267      | 686    |
| Majority against the Home Rule Bill |        |          | 344    |

# THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G.,

## ON THE

# HOME RULE BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

(SEPTEMBER 8th, 1893.)

I ask why have they brought in this Bill? We have obtained no information from the speeches delivered. We used, indeed, to hear something about the colonies. We were told that there was the remarkable case of Quebec, where the grant of a Home Rule Bill had produced absolute agreement between classes that were formerly divided. However, I am told that Quebec is not that perfect Garden of Eden which some would induce us to imagine, but that the minority is being crowded out by the majority, and will very soon disappear altogether. I am told also that in Quebec alone, of her Majesty's possessions on that Continent, a large party has through its leader avowed

### *REASONABLE VIEWS*

with respect to the connexion with the colony of the Crown. I should, therefore, not be disposed to take Quebec for my example, even if it were relevant. But is it relevant? Is it possible to compare the position of a colony with the position you propose for Ireland under this Bill? Has there been for the last century any statesman so bold that he would propose to Parliament that a colony should not only enjoy autonomy such as the British Colonies enjoy, but should also have the privilege of sending

### *EIGHTY OR ONE HUNDRED MEMBERS*

to the Imperial Parliament, representing no interests in England, bound by no attachment to England, lying under no responsibility with respect to the possible application of the laws passed here to the community they represent, and yet possessing an absolute vote, a vote as large as that of any of the representatives of this country, on all questions which in the relations of life concern the people of this country often most deeply?



It is absurd. Such a proposal would not only have counted out a man ; it would have

***SENT HIM TO BEDLAM.***

Never in any quarter of the world did the wildest theorist suggest that eighty members for a colony should have the power of legislating on English subjects and interests. What reason have you for this experiment, whose details nobody will defend ; whose results nobody can foresee ? Do not, I entreat you, dismiss as a mere figment of the imagination, or as the mere outcome of a heated brain, the apprehensions which the Ulster people have of the Government which is to be established in Ireland under this Bill. Do you really know who the men are who will be placed in power ? Our recollections disappear somewhat rapidly, but you know that a large number of them have had their connexion with crime investigated by a Special Commission, and that the exact nature of that connexion has been recorded by judges of the highest capacity and undoubted integrity, and no shred of evidence has ever been produced to negative the decision that was pronounced. This is the report of the Special Commission :—

“We find that the respondents did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to

***CRIME AND OUTRAGE.***

but persisted in it with knowledge of its effects.”

That is the decision, given after months of investigation, and you know that among the leading men who are urging forward this Bill a large number were respondents in this examination. There were 38 men, whose names I have here, and who are now members of Parliament, upon whose brows that condemnation was stamped—

***THIRTY-EIGHT MEN, AND REMEMBER THIS  
BILL PASSED THE THIRD READING  
BY THIRTY-FOUR.***

It is a Bill which has not only been passed by a South-Irish majority, not only been passed by men elected by the carefully watched illiterates, not only passed under the orders of Archbishop Walsh, but passed by men on whom this criminal brand has been placed by three of the highest judges. Is not Ulster right to be afraid ? Would you yourselves wish to submit to

***SUCH DOMINATION ?***

Would you not struggle against it to the last ? Would you not make every effort in your power to prevent yourselves, your

families, your fortunes, and your fame from being placed in such hands as these? And yet this is what you are invited to do by passing this Bill. My lords, the only other point to which I would draw your attention is the

### ***LARGE IMPERIAL CHARACTER***

of this question. Supposing the effect of this Bill were to place Ireland in the hands of those who detested us, and that trouble arose with America, should we not then be in an infinitely worse position than any which a continuance of the present state of things could possibly put us into? Remember the great privilege of the present position of Great Britain. On some sides our coasts lie against those of Continental powers. But against the great mass of our coasts on the west and north-west we have our own territory in our own possession, and we are practically safe from any attack, and (especially in these days when the neighbourhood of harbours is essential for naval action), we have no cause for fear. That is our present strategical position, and it is one of the finest strategical positions in the world. Give over Ireland to your enemies, to those who hate you—let the ordinary government be conducted by those who are hostile to you—I do not say it need reach the point of civil war—then all those harbours of Ireland which lie over against the harbours of this country would be at the mercy of the enemy who attacked you, and unless you chose to undertake the task of reconquering Ireland and shattering by mere military force the structure you are now so painfully building up, you would have no security from the sympathy which the Irish in command of their own harbours could give to the navies or privateers or cruisers by whom your trade might be threatened.

### ***NOTHING COULD BE RASHER***

than to sacrifice what we deem our secular strength and privilege, and to expect that on the other side of the channel we shall be exposed to the attack of no enemy. That you are asked to give up, with no other security for your safety than this wretched optimist trust in the goodwill of the people upon whom you have to depend, a trust that **would be madness if they were ordinary men**, because the incitement of making a profit out of it would be too great—a trust that is something more than madness when you are dealing with a race of people and an organization that

### ***FOR CENTURIES HAS HATED YOU***

and longed to obtain your life-blood! Let me read to you what was said by a man who was no Orangeman—by a man who lost his own seat at the most critical period of his political life because he would befriend the Roman Catholics—by a man who was armed with every instrument of historical knowledge, and



whose opinion was certainly deeply pledged on the side of the Liberal Party, and against those who sit on this side of the House. I will read to you what he said upon the maintenance of the Union, and I will ask you on which side he would be sitting if he had now to take part in politics. When he uttered these words he was sitting on the Liberal side and Mr. Gladstone on the Conservative side. Lord Macaulay said :—

“The repeal of the Union we regard as

***FATAL TO THE EMPIRE,***

and we will NEVER consent to it—never, though the country should be surrounded by dangers as great as those which threatened her when her American Colonies and France and Spain and Holland were leagued against her, or when the Armed Neutrality of the Baltic disputed her maritime rights—never, though another Bonaparte should pitch his camp in sight of Dover Castle, never

***TILL ALL HAS BEEN STAKED AND LOST,***

never till the four quarters of the world have been convulsed by the last struggle of the great English people for their place among the nations.”

I read that as the motto which I hope the Unionist party will adopt. If England withdraws her mandate ; if England tells us she wishes that

***THIS HORROR SHALL BE CONSUMMATED***

I agree that a different state of things will have arisen. I believe that to be impossible, and that as long as England is true to herself, now or on any future occasion, if you allow this atrocious, this mean, this treacherous revolution to pass, you will be untrue to the duty which has descended to you from a splendid ancestry, you will be untrue to your highest traditions, you will be untrue to the trust that has been bequeathed to you from the past, you will be untrue to the Empire of England !

## What the House of Lords has Saved England from in September, 1893.

---

**The House of Lords, by refusing to pass the Home Rule Bill, has saved England from being ruled by Ireland!**

Because, in the Home Rule Bill, Mr. Gladstone gave the casting vote in all English and Scotch affairs to the Irish members, while he said the English members were to have nothing to say to Irish affairs. So that in reality, the Irish would rule, not only Ireland, but England also!

If the House of Lords had passed the Home Rule Bill, as Mr. Gladstone wished them to do, **the Irish would have been able to decide what taxes the English working-man should pay, and how his money should be spent; what hours he should work; in what sort of house he should live; what sort of an education his children should have, and what duty he should pay on his tea, tobacco, beer, and other necessaries.** The Irish would have regulated the English Land Laws, the Allotment Question, the Local Option and Sunday Closing Questions, and, in fact, all the questions concerning Englishmen and their homes. At the same time **Englishmen would have had no power to make laws concerning Irish affairs.**

But it may be said, there are 103 Irish members in Parliament now, and Mr. Gladstone wanted to have only 80. How can 80 do more harm than 103? In this way they could do more harm. **Now** the Irish have to obey the laws which they help to make in the British Parliament, so it is to their own interest that those laws should be just and good. But if the Irish had a Parliament of their own they could make what laws they pleased for themselves, as well as voting what laws should be made for Englishmen and Scotchmen. however much the English might dislike the laws made.



Some people say, why not let Ireland go altogether, and be done with it? But England cannot afford to do that; for Ireland is too weak and small to defend itself; and if England let it go some other country would be sure to take it. Then if England was at war with that country, or with some other country that was friendly with the owners of Ireland, England's enemy could use Ireland as a place from which to attack England, and they could use the Irish harbours to keep their ships of war in, where they would be ready to come out and cut off England's food supply.

The question remains,

What would Englishmen have gained from Home Rule?

### NOTHING!

What would England have lost by Home Rule?

She would have lost her **liberty** or power to govern herself.

She would have lost her good name for **common sense**.

She would have lost her **money**; for Mr. Gladstone declared Ireland too poor to pay her way, and so had arranged by his Bill that she must be helped by England.

And in the end she would most likely **lose Ireland altogether**, and some other country, unfriendly to England, would take it.

ULSTER:  
FACTS AND FIGURES.

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A REPLY

BY

T. W. RUSSELL, M.P.



ULSTER:  
FACTS AND FIGURES.

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BY  
T. W. RUSSELL, M.A.

# ULSTER FACTS AND FIGURES.

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## A REPLY

By T. W. RUSSELL, M.P.

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For some time back there has existed something like a conspiracy in the ranks of the Gladstonian Party to defame and belittle the Province of Ulster. Holding, as that province admittedly does, the key of the Home Rule position, and resolutely hostile as it undoubtedly is to Mr. Gladstone's revolutionary proposals, it is not to be wondered at that attempts of this kind should be made. At the recent election for Linlithgowshire a pamphlet issued on these lines by the National Liberal Federation was extensively circulated. Full of inaccuracies—I had almost said of wilful mis-statements and perversions of fact—this *brochure* fell flat. It could be, and it was, answered on the spot. It helped, and did not in the least hinder, the Unionist cause. An article in the *Contemporary Review* for June is of the same type. It asserts on our behalf things concerning Ulster which no Unionist has ever asserted. It suppresses much of which all Ulstermen are proud. Perhaps, as the several writers have so pointedly referred to me, I may be allowed to state the case *contra*, and to put the position of the Northern Province fairly.

And first, as to the "Decline in the Population" question, I am asked in the plainest terms what I think of this difficulty? I hope, at all events, to make this point clear, and whatever may be complained of it shall not be said that I buried the facts and figures of this part of the question in a cloud of rhetoric. The figures given in all the attacks upon Ulster I take as accurate. It, therefore, follows that in fifty years—*i.e.*, since the year 1841—Ulster has lost rather more than three-quarters of a million of her population. Is this progress? I am asked. We shall see. But as the articles under review profess to contrast Ulster with the other provinces of Ireland, it is important to note that, according to the returns, the depletion of Ulster has not been on quite so extensive a scale as that of the other provinces. Ulster is not first, but last in this race. But, apart from this point, which



is a small one, I take strong ground on this question. I do not deplore the depletion. I rejoice in it. What are the facts? In an article published in 1890, and dealing with this very question, I said :—

“Between the years 1776 and 1778 Arthur Young devoted much attention to Ireland and Irish affairs, and his estimate of the population then was something over 3,000,000. From this period on to the famine year, however, the advance went on by leaps and bounds. There was nothing like it anywhere else in Europe. In France, for example, the population in 1791 was 26,000,000. In 1851 it was 36,000,000, an increase of 36 per cent. In 1780 the population of England was 8,000,000. In 1841 it had just doubled. But in Ireland, the population, which in 1778 stood, according to Arthur Young, at 3,000,000, rose to over 8,000,000 in 1841, and in 1846 it was nearly 9,000,000. This is the first fundamental fact upon which I desire to concentrate attention. Out of this abnormal increase in the population arose, I hold, nearly all the troubles of Ireland. Had anything occurred within the country itself to account for, far less to justify, such an increase? Was it due to any commercial development? Had new industries sprung into existence necessitating additional labour? Nothing of the kind. There had been no development of the national resources to account for it, and what it really meant was that a wretchedly poor country was distributing its limited food supply over nearly three times as many hungry mouths as it did in 1778.”\*

Now, of course, if the prosperity of a country is to be tested simply and solely by the increase of the population, the first forty-six years under the Union must have been the halcyon period of Ireland's national existence. The population, as I have shown, had almost trebled itself. The rate of increase exceeded that of England, exceeded that of France—countries, both of them, possessing vast mineral wealth, and therefore adapted for manufacturing enterprise. The real truth, however, is exactly the reverse of this. The excess of population was an absolute curse to Ireland. It was largely in excess of her resources. One-half of the people lived in a state of chronic starvation. Royal Commissions and Select Committees to inquire into the condition of the people were almost yearly occurrences. According to one of the Reports, 585,000 labourers, with 1,800,000 dependent on them, were out of work thirty weeks of the year. The wages of the labourer, when employed, varied from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a week. Mendicancy was the sole resource of the aged and the impotent of the poorer classes. There were five agricultural labourers for every two such in England. Ireland was, in fact, at this period a huge pauper warren. And, basing themselves

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\* “Ireland : Then and Now.” *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 27, p. 674.

upon the population of this period, the assailants of Ulster point to the decline and triumphantly ask "Is this progress?" I answer, plainly and without reserve, Yes, it is progress, and it has been the real source of most of the prosperity which now exists. "Is Mr. T. W. Russell satisfied," the writers ask and desire to know. I reply—"Yes, those who left Ireland have bettered their condition in life. They have helped to build great cities and towns in America, in Australia, in South Africa. By going, they have not only improved their own lot—they have left room for those who remained behind." And what, may I ask, would have been the state of Ireland to-day with a population of nine millions? What would her condition have been if the rate of increase which obtained from 1800 to 1846 had gone on? Have the writers who deal with this question ever considered it from this standpoint? And why has the population of Great Britain increased? Has it been due to the state of her agriculture? Everybody knows the increase has been almost entirely due to the enormous mineral wealth under her soil, to the extraordinary development of commerce as a result of this great possession. Ireland has no mineral wealth. Commercial enterprise is, therefore, crippled at the start. She is wholly or almost wholly dependent on agriculture. And I again ask what would Great Britain have been had her position in this respect been the same as that of Ireland? We may like it or otherwise, but the fact is that with a population of 5,000,000 Ireland has rather more than she can support. The depletion of the superabundant population has been the result of Natural Law. The population, in 1846, was largely in excess of the resources of the country. Half the people lived in misery and wretchedness. No form of government could have cured it. Nature took the work in hand, and, through much tribulation, we have reached a condition of affairs which has not only secured progress and prosperity but ensures more of these blessings in the immediate future.

At the close of the article in the *Contemporary Review* already referred to, there is a fine sample of what I call in plain English the suppression of relevant facts. The writer says:—

"It is only in accordance with the usual practice of the representatives of certain parts of Ulster to claim for the Northern province a far higher rate of popular education than the rest of Ireland. The Census provides the answer—

|            |     |     |     | Percentage of persons above<br>five years of age who can<br>read and write. |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Leinster,  | ... | ... | ... | 74·6                                                                        |
| Munster,   | ... | ... | ... | 71·7                                                                        |
| Ulster,    | ... | ... | ... | 70·7                                                                        |
| Connaught, | ... | ... | ... | 61·8                                                                        |

As usual, Ulster comes third."



This is, as I have said, a fine specimen of the suppression of facts. The Census Returns do not place Ulster third in this respect. They only do so when they pass through the hands of Ulster's enemies. The Table given at page 97 of the General Report of the Census Committee is much fuller than anyone would suppose from the quotation given. Here it is as it appears :—

“Table showing the proportion per cent. of the population five years old and upwards in each province in Ireland in 1891 who could read and write only, and who could neither read nor write :—

|            | Read and write. | Read only. | Neither read<br>nor write. |
|------------|-----------------|------------|----------------------------|
| Leinster,  | 74·6            | 10         | 15·4                       |
| Munster,   | 71·9            | 8·2        | 19·9                       |
| Ulster,    | 70·7            | 13·9       | 15·4                       |
| Connaught, | 61·8            | 10·8       | 27·4                       |

As regards actual illiteracy, then, Ulster does not, “as usual, come third.” It is before Munster and Connaught, and on a par with Leinster, and when the whole facts come out, the reason why it is not far ahead of the metropolitan province is apparent. Why is not Ulster ahead of Leinster? What is it that acts as the drag upon that province? The writer in the *Contemporary* ought to know, and in common fairness he ought to have made it plain. There is a Roman Catholic minority in Ulster, and there is a Protestant minority in Leinster. In Ulster the Roman Catholic minority tells heavily against the province in the matter of education. In Leinster the Protestant minority helps materially to swell the favourable average of that part of Ireland. In Ulster, roughly speaking, 900,000 Protestants give 60,000 illiterates, whilst 750,000 Roman Catholics give 160,000. Here is the drag upon Ulster. Now, how stands the figures for Leinster? Does the Protestant minority drag that province down or hold it back? The contrary is the fact. A population, roughly speaking, of 1,012,000 Roman Catholics in Leinster shows 158,140 illiterates, whilst a minority of 175,000 Protestants only produces 6,638. Here is, therefore, proof positive of my contention. Judged by the test of illiteracy, Ulster is ahead of Munster and Connaught. She is exactly on a level with Leinster. And if she is not far ahead, she owes that entirely to two things—the drag of Roman Catholic illiteracy in Ulster, and to the high state of education happily existing amongst the Protestant minority in Leinster.\* If this

\* It should particularly be mentioned as a feature which tells heavily against Ulster in this comparison, that the Roman Catholic County of Donegal, which is included within her boundaries, is one of the worst educated parts even of Celtic Ireland, no less than 31 per cent. of its population being absolutely illiterate. Leinster contains no county or district comparable with Donegal—indeed for comparison we must look to the wildest and most exclusively Celtic regions of Connaught.

assailant of Ulster had cared to dip into the census volumes he could have found out these facts for himself. He has ventured on an ocean of statistics, and like little boys who swim on bladders, he has got out of his depth. And although enjoying the luxury of a sneer at Ulster, his facts and figures do not stand the test of examination.

Before getting into the region of Parliamentary Returns let me deal with another of these loose statements.

At page 779 this writer says:—"There are two other legends which go with the progress and wealth legend. Ulster is represented as being overwhelmingly Protestant, and overwhelmingly Unionist. A few figures will suffice to dispose of those contentions."

The first question I ask is as to who it is that advances these contentions? No responsible Unionist has ever done so. Those of us who are fighting in this struggle do not seek to get rid of facts. We should be fools if we tried to do so. We speak often, no doubt, of Protestant Ulster. But what do we mean by such a phrase? We certainly do not cover by it what may be called geographical Ulster. In this area, although there is a Protestant majority of 130,000, there is a very large Roman Catholic element. Do our assailants think that we do not know that the Counties of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan are as Celtic and as Roman Catholic as many of the counties south of the Boyne? No. When we speak of Protestant Ulster we refer to the Ulster of the Plantation—the six counties returning Unionist members to Parliament! The population of these counties stands thus:—

| Protestant. | Roman Catholic. | Protestant Majority. |
|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 77,712      | 448,304         | 339,408              |

This is what we mean when we speak of Protestant Ulster. Of course, I am familiar with the favourite Gladstonian plan of leaving Belfast out of consideration. We have had this plan served up in the House of Commons. Leave Belfast outside of Ulster! Leave Glasgow out of Renfrewshire! Leave London out of Middlesex! Belfast will not budge, and the figures, as they stand, must be faced. Then, as to the representation of Ulster. What is the use of pointing out that here the Unionist majority is slender, and that there the Nationalist majority is overwhelming? Granted that in three divisions of Donegal, and throughout the whole of Cavan and Monaghan, the Nationalist majorities are very large, what does this prove? Simply that outside the Ulster of the Plantation the country



is largely Celtic and Roman Catholic. But the facts cannot be quite obliterated, even by the most partizan writers. After the General Election of 1886 Ulster was represented by 17 Nationalists, and 16 Unionists, or a Nationalist majority of 1. In 1893 the representation consists of 19 Unionists and 14 Nationalists or a Unionist majority of 5. It may be, and it is, said that the Nationalist majorities are large, whilst those of the Unionists are small. Be it so. But this was caused by the fact that the Nationalists left eleven of the Unionist seats wholly unopposed. These seats were so impregnable that they could not be fought. They contested the remaining five, and with what result? Here are the figures :—

|              |     | Unionist Majority.<br>1886. | Unionist Majority.<br>1893. |
|--------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| South Derry  | ... | 128                         | 498                         |
| South Tyrone | ... | 99                          | 372                         |
| North Antrim | ... | 2,519                       | 2,639                       |
| North Derry  | ... | 2,163 (1885)                | 3,190                       |
| North Tyrone | ... | 352                         | 43                          |
|              |     | <hr/> 5,261                 | <hr/> 6,784                 |

So far, therefore, as the contested seats held by the Unionists are concerned, these figures are conclusive. They held every seat won in 1886, and where they had to fight, with one exception, they increased their majorities. Now, as to the Nationalist seats assailed by the Unionist Party, how do the figures stand? Here they are :—

|                 | Nationalist Majority.                                          | Unionist Majority     |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
|                 | 1886.                                                          | 1893.                 |
| West Belfast    | ... 103                                                        | 889                   |
| Derry City      | { Won by Nationalists<br>on Petition; votes<br>almost equal. } | 26                    |
| North Fermanagh | ... 266                                                        | 317                   |
|                 |                                                                | Nationalist Majority. |
| East Tyrone     | ... 468                                                        | 208                   |
| South Fermanagh | ... 1,233                                                      | 621                   |
| South Down      | ... 970                                                        | 571                   |
| South Armagh    | ... No contest.                                                | 1,247                 |
| East Donegal    | ... 1,421                                                      | 763                   |

These eight contests covered the serious attack upon the Nationalist seats in Ulster. And what happened? In three cases the seats were captured, and in the remaining five the Nationalist majorities were reduced by 50 per cent. It is vain to talk of the split in the Nationalist ranks as accounting for this. There was no real split in Ulster. In the Northern Province Mr. Parnell had

few followers, and those he had polled in every instance for the Nationalist candidates. The electoral position, therefore, stands thus: Taking the entire province, there is a Unionist majority of five. Taking the Ulster of the Plantation, there is a Unionist majority of 13. And whilst the contested Unionist seats, with one exception, were won by increased majorities, the opposite is the case with the Nationalist seats, and one of their strongholds, viz., East Tyrone, is admittedly in peril.

Now I come to the question of the prosperity of Ulster contrasted with the other provinces. In the pursuit of their apparently congenial task the defamers of Ulster think they have found out a valuable argument in the Income Tax Returns. They have, in reality, discovered a mare's nest. "The richest province of Ireland forsooth!" they exclaim. "Why, the Income Tax Returns show Ulster to be far behind Leinster in this respect." And so they do. But things are not always what they seem. And these wise gentlemen would, in dealing with Parliamentary Returns, do well to get a bit below the surface of things. Now, the figures are plain enough. In Great Britain the collection of Income Tax is made up by counties. In Ireland it is made up by Surveyors Districts, which each embrace several counties. There are two such districts in Dublin and only one in Belfast. This fact, in itself, is remarkable, and might have given grounds for hesitation and enquiry. But here are the figures:—

|              | Gross Amount Assessed<br>under Schedules A. B. & D. | Duty Charged<br>1889-90. |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| North Dublin | ... £3,470,164                                      | £99,553                  |
| South    "   | ... 2,852,243                                       | 64,020                   |
| Belfast      | ... 4,318,470                                       | 89,004                   |

These figures are taken as conclusive proof that Dublin is richer than Belfast, and it is the Dublin figures alone which give Leinster its apparent predominance over Ulster. What do they mean? Is there a sane man, knowing anything about Ireland, who believes that the income upon which Income Tax is paid in Dublin exceeds that of Belfast by nearly one-half? Everybody with any knowledge of the two cities must recognise at once that there must be something which does not appear on the face of the returns. What is this something? There are, as I have pointed out, two Surveyors Districts in Dublin. One is on the north, the other is on the south side of the City. The Custom House is on the north, the Bank of Ireland is on the south side. Now, take the case of the Irish Civil Service. \* It is a large force, comprising the judges of the Superior Courts, the County Court Judges, the Land Commissioners, the Excise Officers, the Resident Magistrates, and a host of others



in Government employment. They earn their incomes in different parts of Ireland. Their salaries, however, are paid in Dublin, and the Income Tax is stopped at the source. This, of itself, tells enormously in favour of Leinster. But it is not all. Take the Income Tax on dividends payable at the Bank of Ireland. This income is earned at home and abroad. Leinster has no more to do with it in many cases than Kamschatka. But because the head office of the Bank of Ireland is in Dublin, and the Income Tax on such incomes is stopped there, Leinster gets the advantage. A moment's consideration by any one knowing the facts ought to be enough to show that no fair or reliable conclusion as to the actual wealth of the different provinces can be arrived at on the returns as they are now compiled. The only thing certain is that Ulster pays on its actual income ; Leinster, on the other hand, gets credit for enormous payments with which it has no connection, save in the matter of collection.

I next take the question of rating. The Poor Law valuation of Leinster exceeds that of Ulster. Therefore Ulster is poorer than Leinster ; so say our critics. I shall give the facts and deal with this contention. But there is a recently developed argument which cannot afford to wait for explanation. It is not only Ulster that has to be belittled. Belfast must also be besmirched. Dealing with the question of rating, the writer in the *Contemporary*, following the example of Mr. Lough in the House of Commons, says that Belfast is far behind Dublin and Cork in the number of ratings above £20, and he gives the figures thus :—

|         |     | Population. | Rates over £20. | No. per 10,000<br>of Population |
|---------|-----|-------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| Dublin  | ... | 269,716     | 10,110          | 37                              |
| Cork    | ... | 97,281      | 2,597           | 27                              |
| Belfast | ... | 273,114     | 6,367           | 23                              |

And he is careful to point out that whilst there is very little difference between Dublin as a city and Dublin as a Parliamentary borough, "there is a difference of 10,000 acres between Belfast as a city and Belfast as a borough." Now, if anything could show the incapacity of the writer for the task he has undertaken, it is the parading of these figures as proof of the wealth of Dublin compared with Belfast. The explanation of the problem is on the very face of the facts. Belfast is an industrial city. It is inhabited by tens of thousands of busy artisans. This population has grown with the business of the city. And as industrial enterprise spread, the housing of the people had to be provided for. The result is that Belfast is a city containing miles of self-contained artisans' houses. There are no artisans dwellings on the block system ; each family has a self-contained house. The ratings of these houses are, of course,

much under £20. Now, what are the facts in Dublin and Cork? Until quite recently no artisans' dwellings existed in either of these cities, the working classes are consequently huddled in great insanitary tenement houses—some of these old houses containing five, six, and even ten families; but the rating of the house is a single rating, and, probably in almost every case, exceeds £20. Here is the secret. I say to any one knowing the cities in question this explanation lies on the very face of the facts. And I should like to ask which of the three cities is the better off—Belfast, with its scores of comfortable self-contained cottages, or Dublin and Cork, with their piles of old tenement houses, never intended originally for more than one family, and now inhabited by several? The facts have only to be stated to show the utter folly and ignorance of those who use such an argument.

And this same argument is applied to the Ulster counties. "Ulster," says this writer, "does not stand first in the matter of £20 ratings, it is a long way behind." Who ever said that in this matter it did stand first? Our contention has always been the very opposite, viz., that the Northern province is the home of the small holder. This is our strong point. The large holders of land, the graziers, the sheep farmers, are in the south and west. Not a doubt of it. Ulster, so far as agriculture is concerned, is mainly occupied by small farmers. The 10, 15 and 20 acre men are its glory and its strength; and let us see how the theory works out. I had occasion, a year ago, to examine the agricultural facts and figures of the four provinces. The information is a year old, but is sufficiently recent for all practical purposes. Writing in the *Daily Graphic* for June 14th, 1892, and anticipating this very argument, I said:—

"Among the many misapprehensions current concerning Ulster, none is more common than that the condition of the people of that province is exceptional and different from that of Irishmen in the other portions of the country. The Ulster farmer, for example, is generally supposed to be a totally different person from the farmer of the south and west. And so in many respects he is; but in the main, his position is the same, although his environment—if I may use such a phrase—is somewhat different. Politicians frequently talk on this basis of the small holdings of the south and west. But Ulster is in reality the province where small holdings most largely prevail. And there, if anywhere, the experiment about which so much is now being said has been fairly, and, on the whole, successfully worked out. In 1890, out of a total of 564,803 holdings in Ireland, 199,425 were in Ulster. No fewer than 101,285 of these were under fifteen acres in extent, and 78,549 others, while over fifteen were under fifty acres. In Munster, on the other hand, out of 123,770 holdings, only 42,920 were under fifteen acres, and 46,099 were above fifteen and under fifty. The figures for Leinster are a little higher, and when we come to Connaught extremes may be said to meet, the extensive sheep runs and the peasants' patch making up a somewhat incongruous total. But, however, the figures may be viewed, the fact stands clearly out that Ulster, above and



beyond all the other provinces, is the home of the small holder. Now, apart altogether from what may be called the commercial position of Ulster—and by this I mean its position apart from farming—it is worth while to examine how the province stands in regard to agriculture. Ulster is not first in the matter of live stock. The figures stood thus in the year 1890:—

TABLE SHOWING THE LIVE STOCK IN IRELAND (1890).

|               |     | No. of        |         |            |           |
|---------------|-----|---------------|---------|------------|-----------|
| Province.     |     | Stockholders. | Horses. | Cattle.    | Sheep.    |
| Leinster ...  | ... | 130,219       | 180,926 | 1,059,810  | 1,391,196 |
| Munster ...   | ... | 126,505       | 150,309 | 1,402,730  | 1,006,340 |
| Ulster ...    | ... | 203,765       | 180,940 | 1,101,516  | 605,286   |
| Connaught ... | ... | 121,610       | 72,697  | 676,260    | 1,320,573 |
|               |     | 582,099       | 584,872 | 4,240,316  | 4,323,395 |
| Province      |     | Pigs.         | Goats.  | Poultry.   |           |
| Leinster ...  | ... | 373,392       | 78,479  | 3,700,056  |           |
| Munster ...   | ... | 525,205       | 101,802 | 3,537,270  |           |
| Ulster ...    | ... | 419,066       | 91,368  | 5,322,468  |           |
| Connaught ... | ... | 252,703       | 55,495  | 2,548,634  |           |
|               |     | 1,570,366     | 327,144 | 15,408,428 |           |

When, however, we leave the sheep and dairy farms of the south and west, and come to the question of crops, Ulster at once comes to the front, as the following Table will show:—

TABLE SHOWING THE PRODUCE OF CROPS IN 1890.

| Province.     |     | Wheat.<br>Cwts.   | Oats.<br>Cwts.     | Barley.<br>Cwts.  | Rye.<br>Cwts.                                  |
|---------------|-----|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Leinster ...  | ... | 436,513           | 4,339,463          | 2,161,632         | 25,548                                         |
| Munster ...   | ... | 439,622           | 3,214,467          | 746,290           | 21,914                                         |
| Ulster ...    | ... | 424,302           | 8,185,632          | 73,254            | 33,260                                         |
| Connaught ... | ... | 113,527           | 2,056,750          | 76,081            | 88,403                                         |
|               |     | 1,413,964         | 17,796,312         | 3,057,257         | 169,130                                        |
|               |     | Beans.<br>Cwts.   | Potatoes.<br>Tons. | Turnips.<br>Tons. | Mangel<br>Wurzel,<br>and<br>Beetroot.<br>Tons. |
| Leinster ...  | ... | 35,160            | 391,412            | 1,483,747         | 236,189                                        |
| Munster ...   | ... | 1,557             | 291,331            | 957,941           | 275,999                                        |
| Ulster ...    | ... | 49,686            | 870,405            | 1,424,097         | 79,327                                         |
| Connaught ... | ... | 395               | 257,281            | 383,925           | 71,566                                         |
|               |     | 86,798            | 1,810,429          | 4,254,710         | 663,031                                        |
|               |     | Cabbage.<br>Tons. | Flax.<br>Stones.   | Hay.<br>Tons.     |                                                |
| Leinster ...  | ... | 110,443           | 14,459             | 1,293,703         |                                                |
| Munster ...   | ... | 159,487           | 9,202              | 1,279,396         |                                                |
| Ulster ...    | ... | 74,384            | 3,294,183          | 1,359,406         |                                                |
| Connaught ... | ... | 88,300            | 4,385              | 661,424           |                                                |
|               |     | 432,614           | 3,232,229          | 4,593,929         |                                                |

In wheat, Ulster is very slightly under Leinster and Munster. More oats are, however, grown in that province than in the other two combined. Leinster takes the lead by a long way in barley, but Ulster produces almost as many potatoes as the whole of the rest of Ireland. In flax—a most important crop—she has no competitor. In green crops she more than holds her own, and in hay distances all the other provinces. Even from an agricultural standpoint, then, and not judging by the Tables for any given year, Ulster may fairly be said to be by far the richest province of the four."

Then, as to the question of Poor Law Valuation as a test of wealth. The figures stand thus:—

|               | Population. | Rateable<br>Valuation.<br>£ | Statute<br>Acres. | Valuation<br>per head.<br>£ s. d. |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Leinster ...  | 1,187,760   | 4,736,002                   | 4,836,708         | 4 0 1                             |
| Munster ...   | 1,172,402   | 3,373,242                   | 5,934,681         | 2 17 7                            |
| Ulster ...    | 1,619,814   | 4,463,591                   | 5,322,324         | 2 13 10                           |
| Connaught ... | 724,774     | 1,435,761                   | 4,234,224         | 1 19 7                            |

And so again we are told "the peerless province is third." But is this an entirely fair way of putting it? When was the valuation made? It was made some fifty years ago. Ulster since that time has gone forward. The other provinces, to put it mildly, have not quite kept pace. What would be the result of a fresh valuation? And what is the use of an argument like this of at least half a century old? Of course, I know everybody is hostile to a fresh valuation. They fear an increased impost. But this is exactly the point. And is Ulster really third? With a much smaller acreage her gross valuation exceeds that of Munster by nearly £1,000,000 sterling; on this smaller acreage there is a much larger population, and so the percentage per head is reduced in Ulster. But is this quite a fair way of putting such an argument? And, in regard to Leinster, is it reasonable to attribute nothing to the capital? Of course Dublin has, and must always have, a certain advantage. It is the seat of Government, and I venture to say that this single fact makes more than the difference between the gross rating of Leinster and Ulster.

In the matter of house accommodation the writers have pursued the same plan of obscuring the figures. The Registrar-General divides the house accommodation of Ireland into four classes—1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th. Now, say the anti-Ulster writers, "Ulster is not at the head of this list. And, as a matter of fact, there are many counties in the South which are ahead of Ulster in the matter of first-class house accommodation." I do not know why anyone should have supposed the facts were otherwise. As I have said, Ulster is the home of the small holder and of an artizan population.



These classes do not usually live in what are called houses of the first class. But what are the real facts? At page 92 of the General Census Report the figures are to be found:—

| CLASSES OF HOUSES. |     |     |      | 1st. | 2nd. | 3rd. | 4th. |
|--------------------|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|------|
| Leinster           | ... | ... | 13.1 | 54.7 | 29.8 | 2.4  |      |
| Munster            | ... | ... | 8.2  | 54.6 | 33.6 | 3.6  |      |
| Ulster             | ... | ... | 6.9  | 58.1 | 33.9 | 1.1  |      |
| Connaught          | ... | ... | 3.5  | 39.4 | 53.7 | 3.4  |      |

It is quite true, therefore, that Ulster does not stand at the head of the list in the matter of houses of the first class. Nobody, looking at the circumstances of the province, could expect such a thing. But, as regards second-class accommodation, she has more of it than any other part of the country. In regard to houses of the third class, which, after all, are a good test of average comfort, she is better off than either Leinster or Munster, and a smaller percentage of her population live under the conditions typified by the mud cabin than in any of the other provinces. And the figures work out this way although the Roman Catholic and Celtic counties of Donegal and Cavan act as a heavy weight upon Ulster.

Leaving the Northern Province as a whole, I now turn to say a word about Belfast. Even the most reckless Gladstonian is brought to a stand still by the facts connected with this city. They compare it, however, with Dublin. Belfast can stand the comparison. But that is not the question. The real point is that Dublin was a great city when Belfast was a small town. The one has progressed by leaps and bounds; the other has either stood still or it has retrograded. The position of the two cities in this respect can be learned from the following table\* :—

| Population of Belfast. |     |         | Population of Dublin. |     |         |
|------------------------|-----|---------|-----------------------|-----|---------|
| 1821                   | ... | 37,277  | 1821                  | ... | 185,881 |
| 1831                   | ... | 53,287  | 1831                  | ... | 203,650 |
| 1841                   | ... | 70,447  | 1841                  | ... | 235,864 |
| 1851                   | ... | 87,062  | 1851                  | ... | 261,700 |
| 1861                   | ... | 121,602 | 1861                  | ... | 254,808 |
| 1871                   | ... | 174,412 | 1871                  | ... | 246,326 |
| 1881                   | ... | 208,122 | 1881                  | ... | 249,302 |
| 1891                   | ... | 255,896 | 1891                  | ... | 245,581 |

\* It is true that by including the suburbs of Dublin we may arrive at results less strikingly unfavourable to the Metropolis. But, after all, it is almost absurd to compare the population statistics of Belfast with the corresponding figures for an old city like Dublin. The rise of Belfast can be better appreciated by comparisons drawn elsewhere. "One of the most extraordinary developments of a city," says the Belfast Chamber of Commerce (April 11th, 1893), "is found in the case of Glasgow. Glasgow has multiplied its population eight times between 1801 and 1891. Belfast in the same period has multiplied its population thirteen and a half times."

Within the same period the inhabited dwelling-houses rose from 5,494 to 46,376, and of these only 166 were of the third and fourth class. The figures for Dublin for 1891 stand thus :—There were 8,720 of the first class ; 14,638 of the second ; 2,399 of the third ; and 7 of the fourth.

The development of the port has also been something marvellous. A straight channel has been cut from the town to the deep sea. This channel, a work of enormous importance, was cut in three sections—the first being completed in 1841, the last in 1891. Through this waterway the largest vessels can come up direct to Belfast. Miles of wharves have been built, docks have been made, and facilities for trade provided. The growth of the port can be seen by the following table :—

|      |     |     | Vessels entering<br>the Harbour. | Tonnage.  |
|------|-----|-----|----------------------------------|-----------|
| 1800 | ... | ... | 777                              | 55,268    |
| 1850 | ... | ... | 4,490                            | 624,313   |
| 1891 | ... | ... | 8,008                            | 1,931,177 |

The gross tonnage entering Dublin harbour in 1850 was 338,107. In 1891 we had increased to 655,673. Dublin doubled its tonnage within these two periods ; Belfast trebled hers.

And other industries have kept pace with the port—or rather the port has kept pace with them. In 1850 the number of spindles at work in Belfast was 326,008. In 1891 the number stood at 834,907. In 1850 the number of power looms was 138. In 1891 they had risen to 26,790. The ship-building industry has also taken firm root. In 1853 the first ship was built upon the Queen's Island. In 1891 Messrs. Harland and Wolff alone employed 7,098 persons in this industry. In 1858 the area of the works was  $1\frac{3}{4}$  acres ; they now cover 79 acres. Messrs. Workman, Clark and Co., also employ over 1,000 hands in the same industry ; and a smaller yard owned by Messrs. M'Ilwaine and M'Cree, Limited, has recently been opened. These great ship-building yards vie with those of the Mersey and the Clyde. The Customs Revenue of Ireland in 1891 stood at £2,123,526 ; of this £939,526 stood to the credit of Belfast—Dublin and Cork following with £808,677 and £108,010 respectively. The value of the imports of Foreign and Colonial merchandise stood thus for the three Irish cities in 1891 :—

|         |     |     |            |
|---------|-----|-----|------------|
| Belfast | ... | ... | £3,163,464 |
| Dublin  | ... | ... | 2,781,787  |
| Cork    | ... | ... | 1,293,617  |

It is no use saying that in every respect Dublin is following close upon the track of Belfast. There are two answers to this point. In the first place, Belfast has passed Dublin in the race



and is shooting ahead of the Metropolis in every respect; and secondly, in whose hands is the commerce of the port of Dublin? Is it in Celtic hands? Not at all. The same race that has made Belfast what it is conducts the main business of the Metropolis. The trade of Dublin is mainly in the hands of the Unionists. Apply another test. Take the question of pauperism. The figures are happily brought down to a recent date. According to the *Labour Gazette* for June, an official journal published by the Board of Trade, pauperism in four of the chief Irish districts stood thus :—

| No. of In and Out-door Paupers at<br>close of second week in May,<br>1893, per 10,000 of the popu-<br>lation. |     |     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Dublin District—349,705                                                                                       | ... | ... | 226 |
| Belfast District—289,860                                                                                      | ... | ... | 110 |
| Cork, Waterford and Limerick—252,092                                                                          | ... | ... | 437 |
| Galway District—38,719                                                                                        | ... | ... | 181 |

The writer in the *Contemporary*, unable to prove the inferiority of Belfast in Ireland itself, compares it with other sea-ports in the United Kingdom. It is beaten by Dundee in this, by Cardiff in that, and by Bristol in something else. Be it so. But this hardly touches the real question, which is the position of Belfast in Ireland. But may I ask why should this game of beggar-your-neighbour be continued? Ulstermen are proud of their province. They are proud of her history and of what her sons have done for the Empire. They are proud of her mercantile position, and of the rapid strides she has made and is making. They are proud that in times when the temptation was sore the austere faith of the province enabled the people to resist the tempting bait of agrarian socialism, and to stand out against the dishonesty of the Land League and the Plan of Campaign. But they rejoice none the less in the general progress of the country. Illiteracy has fallen from 53 per cent. in 1841 to 18 per cent. in 1891. This is a satisfaction to every Ulsterman. The trade of Dublin and Cork increases. Belfast and Derry are not jealous. Why should the Nationalist Party seek to defame and decry the Northern province? It is arrayed against their policy. It intends to resist it to the end. And in the end Ulster will triumph. But that is no reason why statistics should be perverted and plain facts obscured.

T. W. RUSSELL.

# Home Rule and English Pockets !

## A PRESSING DANGER.

"It seems to be a distinctive feature of **IRISH 'PATRIOTISM,'** that it is a plant of such sickly growth that it requires to be **WATERED BY BRITISH GOLD.**"—*Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons, July 21st, 1893.*

"The Irish surplus," said **MR. GLADSTONE**, in moving the introduction of his Home Rule Bill, "must, undoubtedly, be found at the **EXPENSE OF THE BRITISH TAXPAYER.**"—*Times, February 14th, 1893.*

But though Mr. Gladstone said this in Parliament, **his followers are not in the habit of repeating it on the platform.**

The British taxpayer may be prepared (though he has not shown it by his votes) to let Ireland govern herself. But is he prepared to **PAY HER FOR DOING SO**, and likewise to let Ireland **GOVERN HIM AT THE SAME TIME**, and by her votes in the British Parliament **MAKE HIM PAY HER MORE ?**

The 274 British Gladstonian members now in Parliament **DON'T TELL YOU** that they have voted on your behalf for these peculiar arrangements, but nevertheless they **HAVE VOTED FOR THEM, AND WILL DO SO AGAIN !**

They have voted that **ENGLISHMEN AND SCOTCHMEN ARE TO BE TAXED THIRTY-FIVE SHILLINGS A HEAD** all round, but that **IRISHMEN** are to be taxed **ONLY SIX SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE** a head !

Thus Ireland is not only to get Home Rule, but to be paid, and very well paid, by England and Scotland for taking it. Will you consent to that ?

They have also voted that when Irishmen have Home Rule, and when you, in England, are being enormously over-taxed for Ireland's benefit, the **IRISH** are still to sit **IN YOUR PARLIAMENT** and have power to vote for **RAISING YOUR TAXES STILL HIGHER**, although you are not to be allowed to throw similar votes for raising theirs. Will you consent to that ?

They have also voted for allowing Irish factories to be worked for longer hours than English factories, and so subjecting you to a damaging competition, which must end in loss to the manufacturer, and **LONGER HOURS OF WORK** to the English workingman.

The above provisions, and many others equally damaging and unfair, were contained in the late Home Rule Bill.



"A harmless Bill," the Gladstonian speakers called it, "just to allow Ireland to govern herself!"

"Govern herself," indeed! It was a Bill to make Ireland **GOVERN YOU, TAX YOU, AND ROB YOU!**

It was a Bill to **spoil your trade, lower your wages, raise your taxes, lengthen your hours of work, and leave your coasts at the mercy of enemies!**

But 274 English, Scottish, and Welsh members gave it their support, and will do so again. They even say it is the mandate of the majority!

It is all very fine to try **throwing the blame on the majority.** But the fact is, that the majority of English, Scottish, and Welsh constituencies have voted **AGAINST** Home Rule **TWICE OVER**, and have **never** voted in its favour. And those who did vote to "let Ireland govern herself," **DID NOT KNOW** that they were also voting to **PAY HER OUT OF THEIR OWN POCKETS** for governing herself and England too!

And but for the firmness of the House of Lords, all this unfairness would have been passed into law **IN YOUR NAME**, by the help of the eighty Irish members, chosen **AT THE BIDDING OF THE IRISH PRIESTS!**

Now, because the House of Lords has refused to pass it, some tell you the danger is past. But the danger is not past.

The 274 British Gladstonians who voted to inflict all these injuries upon you, still misrepresent your wishes in the House of Commons. They still hold office by the votes of the Irish party, which will not let them off one tittle of the sacrifices they have already promised—**AT YOUR EXPENSE.**

The House of Lords cannot for ever protect the interests of the British people against the British people's own House of Commons.

But the House of Lords can say, and it has said once for all, **"THE PEOPLE MUST DECIDE."**

Will you not, therefore, protect yourselves by voting against the Gladstonian candidates, whose votes in the past show that they are prepared to **BETRAY YOUR INTERESTS** to any extent in the future?

# The "Freeman's Journal," Limited.

## HOME RULE REHEARSED IN PRINCE'S STREET, DUBLIN.

On January 1st, 1887, the late Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, M.P., parted with the ownership of the *Freeman's Journal*, the recognized organ of the Home Rule party in Ireland, for the sum of £100,000, whereof he received £66,668 in cash, and the remainder in 8,333 ordinary shares in "The *Freeman's Journal* Company, Limited." Dividends of 10 per cent. were regularly paid by this company at the end of each of the four subsequent years.

On the occurrence of the Nationalist split (November, 1890) the *Freeman* adhered to Mr. Parnell, and in the following March the priests started a rival paper, the *National Press*—Capital £36,000. The result of this adventure was so bewildering a series of revolutions in the government of the *Freeman's Journal* Company, that the barest outline of them should be of some value, as illustrating Nationalist ideas of business management.

At this time the control of the paper was in the hands of three directors, whom we may call

### BOARD No. I.—THE PARNELLITE BOARD.

(Consisting of Alderman Meade [Lord Mayor of Dublin], Alderman Kernan, and Mr. Ambrose Plunkett).

On September 21st, 1891, the whole of this board was fired out by a special meeting of shareholders, to make way for "Young Mr. Gray," son of the former proprietor, to change the policy of the paper. "Young Mr. Gray's" mother, Mrs. O'Connor, held 11,000, or about one-half, of the shares, and was, therefore, in fact the person most responsible for the Parnellite policy of the paper; and her son had openly supported this policy in the early part of the year. Indeed, even on July 30th, when he had a lengthened interview with the Parnellite directors relative to his own contemplated co-option on the board, he never gave them the slightest intimation that he was no longer of their way of thinking in politics. Yet at 4 o'clock in the morning of the following day, without consulting a single director, he entered the *Freeman* office with a leading article for immediate insertion, reversing the whole policy of the paper. It was the refusal of the editor to accept Mr. Gray's orders, and the ratification of his refusal by the directors, which led to the special shareholders' meeting above referred to. The result was a foregone conclusion.

### ARCHBISHOPS WALSH AND CROKE

threw their spiritual influence into the scale with Mrs. O'Connor's votes, and at the close of a series of stormy meetings (August 27th and 28th, and September 21st) a large majority was obtained in favour of Mr. Gray's programme. Archbishop Walsh acted as proxy-holder for the party opposed to the directors.

Result—The three Parnellite directors dismissed; a board of five anti-Parnellites appointed.



**BOARD No. II.—“YOUNG MR. GRAY’S BOARD.”**  
(Consisting of Mr. E. D. Gray, Captain Maurice O’Conor, Alderman Toole, Mr. J. Roche, Q.C., and Mr. J. L. Scallan).

In six months “Young Mr. Gray’s Board” was also fired out by Mr. Tim Healy and the Irish priests.

The religious crusade against the *Freeman* was preached with redoubled ferocity, in the interests of the *National Press*, after the *Freeman’s* conversion. Resolutions condemning the apostate paper were pressed by the priests at nearly all the local conventions; the yearly dividend fell from 10 to 7½ per cent.; and early in 1892, Mr. Gray and his colleagues, unable to weather the enmity of the clerics, were constrained to make humble overtures for

**AMALGAMATION WITH THE “NATIONAL PRESS,”**  
of which Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., was the leading director.

The terms demanded by Mr. Healy were—(1.) The retirement of the majority of *Freeman* directors, and the election of a majority of *National Press* directors on the board of the amalgamated journals; (2.) purchase by the *Freeman* at their full paid-up value (£36,000) of the shares of the *National Press*; and (3.) the immediate selling out of Mrs. O’Conor’s shares, the source of “Young Mr. Gray’s” political influence. All this was conceded. Practically the *National Press* took possession of the *Freeman’s Journal* office, and most of the old and tried staff of the *Freeman*, who had survived the September revolution, were now fired out to make way for the employees of the yearling newspaper. At the annual shareholders’ meeting (March 31st, 1892), the chairman, “Young Mr. Gray,” thus summarized the transaction, to which the unhappy shareholders had no option but to assent:—

“We have purchased for £36,000 the Good-will of the Priests of Ireland!”

**BOARD No. III.—“TIM HEALY’S BOARD”**  
now took the helm. Its members were—Messrs. T. M. Healy, M.P., W. Murphy, M.P., Thomas A. Dickson, M.P., E. D. Gray, and Captain O’Conor.

Some irate shareholders took prompt measures for the firing out of this board. The courts were appealed to, and the Master of the Rolls, a month after the amalgamation, declared the whole bargain between the two papers invalid. Theoretically this unseated the majority of the board; but the decree was spurned by the Healyite directors. At the next shareholders’ meeting (May 16th) Mr. Gray, as chairman, questioned Mr. Murphy’s right to a seat at the directors’ table.

**“DON’T MAKE AN ASS OF YOURSELF”**  
was Tim Healy’s characteristic reply.

But already the Healy board had been doomed by another tribunal—the Committee of the Irish Parliamentary party. Mr. Dillon, M.P., Mr. Healy’s rival for the leadership of the M’Carthyites, induced this body, on March 29th, to pass a resolution, the substance of which was, that Messrs. Sexton, Dillon, and W. O’Brien, M.P.’s, should be added to the board. This would have utterly smashed the Healyite régime, and the directors at first con-

trived to evade obedience. But Mr. Dillon, on the eve of the May shareholders' meeting, got a second resolution of the Parliamentary Committee passed, drawing attention to their former one, and with this in his pocket he presented himself at the meeting.

At this gathering, which lasted four days (May 16th-19th), Messrs. Healy and Dillon fell foul of one another in the liveliest fashion, while "Young Mr. Gray," now leagued with the Dillonite faction, openly proclaimed himself "here to enforce the decrees of the Irish Parliamentary party," passed to maintain "the unity of the Federation." To this a Parnellite shareholder pointedly retorted that, although the good-will of the priests might be an asset of the *Freeman*, he could scarcely believe the unity of the Federation was. However, on the fourth day, a compromise was patched up; and it was agreed to add Messrs. Dillon and Sexton to the existing board.

#### **BOARD No. IV.—"THE UNITY OF THE FEDERATION BOARD."**

The compromise board consisted of 3 Healyites (Healy, Murphy, and Dickson); 3 Dillonites (Dillon, O'Connor, and Gray); and 1 supposed neutral (Mr. Sexton). But Mr. Sexton soon wobbled over to the Dillonites, giving them a majority. *N.B.—At the end of the year the paper paid no dividend, and its accounts showed a net*

#### **LOSS OF £15,000!**

The best proof of the new board's competence to deal with this grave financial position may be found in the terms of the following resolution, unanimously passed by them, eight months after their election, on the 17th of January, 1893:—

*"That all the members of this board unreservedly place their resignations at the disposal of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, and undertake to accept and carry into effect such arrangements for the future constitution of the board as may be made by his Grace."*

Can anyone imagine directors (elected by the shareholders) of a great English commercial company thus "unreservedly" placing the interests of the shareholders "at the disposal of" a Protestant Archbishop?

Archbishop Walsh readily undertook the responsibility; asked for time, and was given a month from the 25th of January.

#### **FALL OF "YOUNG MR. GRAY."**

Meantime the Healyite directors did not lose a chance which offered itself of firing out a Dillonite colleague. The "registration at an inconvenient moment of a transfer of shares" suddenly deprived Mr. Gray of his qualification to be a director. Messrs. Healy and Murphy quickly struck him off the list, and thus the Dillonite party lost its majority. On the same day (February 25th, strictly the last of Archbishop Walsh's entrusted powers) a letter was read from his Grace, stating that he now saw his way quite clearly towards the reconstruction of the board.

But the ardour of the Healyites for reconstruction had cooled, and on March 5th Messrs. Healy, Murphy, and Mooney\* wrote to inform the Archbishop that time was up, and that his decision would not now be binding. The Archbishop characterized this

\* Mr. Joseph Mooney had been lately co-opted in place of Mr. Dickson, who resigned in disgust.



attitude as a gross breach of faith, and, as he could not secure implicit obedience to his award, steps to enforce it were taken by the anti-Healyite directors.

The snatched election of Mr. Sexton to the chairmanship, giving him two votes on every division, was the first step. The co-option, by means of Mr. Sexton's double vote, of Alderman Kernan (one of the old Parnellite directors) was the next. The menaced Healyites now raised an alarm in the public Press, declaring that three Parnellites were to be placed on the board. A violent newspaper war ensued (chiefly directed by the Archbishop on the Dillonite side), and both sections of directors appealed for proxies to be used at the annual meeting. Another

### **INTERVENTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY**

in Committee Room 15 was the sequel.

By resolution of March 29th, 1893, the party sketched a programme for the shareholders' meeting, viz., that a committee of ten shareholders should be appointed, and that Messrs. Healy and Sexton should undertake to use their proxies to carry into effect the recommendations of the committee, *whatever they might be*. This committee was accordingly appointed (April 6th), and in due course recommended the

### **FIRING OUT OF FOUR MORE**

directors, viz., Captain O'Connor, and Messrs. Healy, Dillon, and Mooney. Two new directors, Messrs. Hunter and M'Donnell, were to be added to the board.

When the shareholders met (May 2nd, 1893) to receive this report, Mr. Healy, finding that he was to be the victim, refused to vote for it, and a Healy-Dillon row of the usual sort followed. The adoption of the report was finally carried in a scene of wild confusion by the chairman's casting vote, and as many of the recommendations as could be at once put to the meeting were also declared carried, the chairman (Mr. Sexton) standing on the table and rushing the resolutions through amidst uproar which made every word inaudible.

Result—Mr. Hunter elected in place of Captain O'Connor. Mr. M'Donnell to be elected as soon as Messrs. Healy, Dillon, and Mooney—or one of them—make way for him.

It is said that Messrs. Healy, Dillon, and Mooney, who had another unpublished row immediately after the meeting, have hitherto (September, 1893) refused to send in their resignations. Whether or not these gentlemen still nominally direct the "*Fallen Journal*" scarcely affects the moral of its story. Clear it is that the dictatorial interference of priests and prelates, outside politicians and bogus shareholders, has been the destruction of the *Freeman's Journal*; and nothing could prevent similar influences from being the curse of every Irish enterprise under Home Rule.

# AN ANTI-PARNELLITE M.P.

## ON THE ANTI-PARNELLITE PARTY.

Mr. John Barry, Nationalist M.P. for South County Wexford, has always been a Home Ruler of advanced views. In concert with the late Mr. Isaac Butt, he formed the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, and he was one of the first among Irish politicians to join the active party of Mr. Parnell. He has represented the County Wexford in Parliament since 1880.

On Monday, October 2nd, 1893, Mr. Barry met his constituents in public convention in the Town Hall, Wexford, for the purpose of explaining to them his intention to

### **RESIGN THE SEAT**

which he had now held for thirteen years. The Mayor of Wexford presided. Mr. Barry's speech is interesting from the light which it throws on the inner working of the party which Mr. Barry himself helped to create. The report is taken from the *Irish Daily Independent* of October 3rd.

Mr. Barry, M.P., who was received with loud applause, said he had been actively connected with Irish politics for

### **THIRTY-ONE YEARS,**

and with that record behind him they would readily understand that he did not lightly, and without pain, take the course which he had taken in resigning his seat. It was because he had witnessed the steady growth of what he would call for want of a better name

### **"BOSSISM,"**

that he was there to-day to make the strongest protest in his power against it. To make the situation quite clear it was necessary to recall certain events. They would remember that when the Parnell crisis came upon the country in November, 1890, amongst their other difficulties they were without a paper in Dublin. The proceedings of Committee Room 15 came to an end on a Saturday night; on Sunday the party met, and amidst a scene of great enthusiasm it was decided to start a daily paper in Dublin. They all agreed that

### **MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN**

should be named in the prospectus as editor-in-chief. He was on his way from America at the time, but they never doubted for a moment that he would accept the position. It was a matter of life or death to get the paper out quickly. What was their horror to receive from Mr. O'Brien indications of unwillingness to have anything to do with the paper. He (Mr. Barry) started with Mr. Hey for Paris to implore Mr. O'Brien to reconsider the matter. Mr. O'Brien

### **CURTLY AND EMPHATICALLY REFUSED.**

They followed the absurd Boulogne negotiations. The party, after a long and agonizing discussion, had deposed Mr. Parnell in the most solemn manner; but that, forsooth, was not enough for Mr.



O'Brien. He ignored the decision of the party, and must negotiate terms with Mr. Parnell himself. Then when

### **THESE MISERABLE NEGOTIATIONS**

failed, and the country was thrown back into doubt and confusion, Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon went into Galway Jail. The unity of the party was maintained until O'Brien and Dillon came out of jail. Then in a short time all was changed. From the first moment Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien looked with ill-concealed displeasure upon all that had been done in their absence. They took up a position of veiled hostility to the *National Press*. They endeavoured to

### **SHIELD THE "FREEMAN"**

from the just anger of the people. For the sake of peace all this was tolerated in silence. In the meantime Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien threatened to resign their seats if resolutions in favour of the *National Press* were carried at conventions. The *Freeman* then sued for peace, and the *National Press* could have managed a settlement on its own terms but for the

### **ILL-OMENED INTERFERENCE OF MR. DILLON.**

Again, for the sake of peace, silence was maintained, and for the sake of unity Mr. Dillon, although he did not possess a single share in either paper, was invited to join the board. But this did not satisfy Mr. Dillon. He insisted that Mr. O'Brien, who did not own a penny in the papers, should also be a director. At that moment the party were engaged in difficult and delicate negotiations with the representatives of the Gray family over the *Freeman*. Three others and himself had guaranteed the payment of £36,000 within a certain limited time. It was at that critical hour that Mr. Dillon insisted upon introducing for the first time the question of the *Freeman* directorate into the Parliamentary Party. He (Mr. Barry) regarded that as a grievous error of judgment, and protested against it on the ground that it would lead to dissension, but Mr. Dillon insisted, and a meeting of the party was held in London to consider the question. After a discussion lasting over ten hours it was unanimously agreed by the party that nothing further should be done in the *Freeman* matter until the important financial arrangements then in progress were successfully carried through. In defiance of this unanimous agreement of the party, Mr. Dillon on the following day rushed a long letter into the *Freeman*, throwing the whole subject into the vortex of public discussion. Again, for the sake of peace, we were silent. He would not follow Mr. Dillon in all his deplorable actions in the *Freeman* business, but this he would say. He forced

### **THAT WRETCHED QUARREL**

to the front in a reckless spirit and utterly regardless of the consequences to the country, just on the threshold of a general election. They all remembered the heart-breaking display at the shareholders' meetings at the Imperial Hotel. All this action was prompted by the spirit of "bossism," but once more, for the sake of peace, Mr. Dillon was allowed to have his own way. They were a really united

and advancing party until these gentlemen appeared on the scene. They at once commenced a movement to oust Mr. Justin M'Carthy from the chair. At the first meeting of the party in February, 1892, Mr. Sexton nominated Mr. M'Carthy; Mr. O'Brien nominated Mr. Dillon in opposition. They were appealed to not to press the matter to a division. The danger of starting a line of cleavage in the party was strongly urged, but in vain. They insisted on going to a division, and Mr. Dillon got only nine votes. From that time the intrigue had gone on through the medium of lobbying, buttonholing, private conclaves of all kinds—in fact, there was a kind of

#### **SECRET SOCIETY INSIDE THE PARTY.**

All this he had observed for a long time with feelings of growing disgust. He was firmly convinced that the end and object of all this was to set up a kind of brummagem Parnellism, but with twin bosses instead of one. The proceedings at the recent election in Mayo should have opened the eyes of the country to the dangers of the "boss" system. In Mr. Parnell's time they, at least, had to deal with a man of cool judgment, but Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon, although possessing many excellent personal qualities, were in his (Mr. Barry's) opinion very deficient in judgment and common sense. After the displays they had made, the burdens that some of their unwise acts had placed upon the country—

#### **NEW TIPPERARY,**

for instance, cost £70,000—the bumptious Boulogne negotiations, their reckless grasping after power on the *Freeman* and in the party, he believed they would in any country but generous Ireland be laughed out of serious and practical politics. He had in the beginning of his speech made reference to the Paris Funds. When proceedings were taken to recover this money, the case was placed in the hands of two highly capable lawyers, who at the same time were two of the most trusted members of the Irish party, Mr. Arthur O'Connor and Mr. Vesey Knox. They won the preliminary stages of the fight, and were on the verge of the final trial, when, against the emphatic protests of the counsel engaged in the case, and without in any way submitting the matter to the Irish party, a bargain was entered into with the Parnellites and the proceedings were stayed. He would say with all the emphasis he could command, that the course taken by Mr. Dillon displayed a grievous absence of judgment, and created delay and confusion without bringing them one whit nearer obtaining the funds for the evicted tenants. He (Mr. Barry) firmly believed that only for this

#### **MEDDLESOME AND FOOLISH**

proceeding a decision in their favour would have been secured months ago. He believed that the country had had enough, and more than enough, of the system of bossing, and that when the matter was clearly understood the democratic spirit of the country would not allow the

#### **VANITY, AMBITION, AND LOVE OF POWER**

of these gentlemen to control the National movement. The policy



which they had persistently followed since the Parnell crisis had brought no strength to the National cause. They wanted to give the Redmondites fifteen members at the General Election. If that policy had succeeded the Home Rule Bill would have been defeated. What had Ireland gained by Mr. Dillon's action in the *Freeman*? It had not gained, but lost enormously. Was the unity of the party maintained by the attempt to

#### **OUST MR. MCCARTHY**

from the chair and force Mr. Dillon into his place? On the contrary, a deadly blow had been struck at the solidarity of the party, and the foundations were laid for conspiracy and intrigue. The National Federation was founded on democratic principles. He asked if these principles had been observed by the flagrant bossing of conventions such as Mr. Dillon's high-handed methods in Mayo? He would give another illustration of this kind of

#### **PERSONAL DICTATION.**

At the general election Mr. O'Brien was elected both for Cork city and for South-East Cork. He elected to sit for Cork city. Then when it came to a question of selecting a candidate for the county constituency, a meeting was held, and there was a feeling that the proper man would be Mr. Murphy, whose services had been so great. Mr. O'Brien wrote a letter saying that if Mr. Murphy's selection was persisted in he and Mr. Dillon would go down and oppose him. This was a deliberate attempt to override the opinion of the local people. He (Mr. Barry) had been forced to take a course which was utterly repugnant to him. His position had become intolerable from the persistent action of two men grasping for power. One was

#### **BLINDED WITH VANITY,**

and the other was singularly deficient in judgment and common sense. He foresaw a long and squalid contest with these gentlemen. He had neither time nor inclination for a contest of that kind. The only course open to him was to make a free explanation of his reasons for resignation. (Applause.)

At the close of Mr. Barry's address a resolution was unanimously passed pressing him to withdraw his resignation, and containing the following declaration—

"That having heard Mr. Barry's statement we hereby approve of his action in coming before his constituents, and we believe it is the only course left open to him as an honourable man and a true patriot."

Thus by a unanimous vote the Nationalists of South County Wexford in public convention have declared their want of confidence in the Dillonite Faction, which is in a majority of 7 to 2 in the governing committee of the M'Carthyite Parliamentary Party.

# HOME RULE IN DUBLIN.

## AN UPROARIOUS REHEARSAL.

WHEN the House of Lords threw out the Reform Bill in 1832, said Mr. Goschen at Edinburgh, "the church bells were muffled, corporations met, mass assemblages of 150,000 men came together to express their profound disappointment and sorrow."—*Times*, October 4th, 1893.

The Home Rule Bill, which Gladstonians represent as the goal of Irish National aspirations, has now been thrown out by the House of Lords. We might expect, if the Gladstonian view of the question was correct, to find the people of Ireland assembling to express their indignation with a voice equally emphatic.

On the day after Mr. Goschen delivered his speech above quoted (*i.e.*, on Wednesday, October 4th) a meeting of the "Irish National Federation"\* (St. Patrick's Branch) was held in Dublin; and the *resumé* of its proceedings given below may suffice to show what very different questions from the action of the House of Lords are now bringing the Irish Nationalists together to give vent to their feelings.

The report is taken from the *Irish Daily Independent* (Nationalist) of October 5th.

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A meeting of the St. Patrick's Branch of the Federation was held last night in the Commercial Hall, Lower Bridge Street. The chair was taken by Mr. William Murphy, ex-M.P. for the St. Patrick's Division, and a Director of the amalgamated *Freeman's Journal* and *National Press*. In the beginning of his address Mr. Murphy touched on

### THE PARIS FUNDS,

the controversy about which, he said, created a great deal of dissatisfaction in the country. Any Irish Nationalist who read the speech of Mr. Barry in Wexford on Monday—(loud applause)—

A Voice—A cheer for O'Brien. (Slight cheering).

Another Voice—Yes, another cheer for O'Brien.

A Member—Support the Irish Party. (Loud cries of "Order.")

Another Member (to last speaker)—If there is another word out of you, you will go out.

A Voice—We don't want the Paris Funds at all.

The Chairman said he saw gentlemen there who were disposed to be disturbers.

A Voice—There is a good clique here. (Uproar).

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\* The National Federation is the organization of the M'Carthyite Nationalists as the National League is that of the Parnellites.



The Chairman said that anyone who had read Mr. Barry's speech should come to the conclusion that **dissension and**

### **THE PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION**

were in existence in the Irish Parliamentary party.

A Voice—So they are.

Chairman—That was the proposition he laid down. The cause of the present state of affairs in the Irish party was the introduction of the system of government by committee. Immediately after the deposition of Mr. Parnell they elected a chairman of the Irish party, and also elected a committee of nine members. The first meeting of the committee was called after Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon had come out of Galway Jail. It was called on their initiative in Dublin for the purpose of starting a fund to aid the evicted tenants.

A Voice—And other purposes.

Chairman—The Irish *National Press*, of which Mr. Sexton was a Director, was then in a vital battle with the *Freeman's Journal*, which had come round and abandoned Parnell.

### **MR. DILLON AND MR. O'BRIEN**

insisted that the *Freeman's Journal*, as regarded the publication of the subscriptions for the Evicted Tenants' Fund, should be treated in the same manner as the *National Press*. (Cries of "Shame.") Mr. Sexton and Mr. Healy strongly opposed this motion, and Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien then commenced the process, which they had since frequently repeated, of threatening to retire from public life. They had their way then.

A Voice—And they will have their way too. (Loud cries of "Order.")

Another Voice—It would be a good job if they retired long ago.

A third Voice—They should be shoved out.

Chairman—I deprecate any observations of that kind.

A Member—Well, now, we don't want any more. (Cries of "Order," and shouts of "**No Dictation**," followed by

### **GREAT UPROAR).**

The Chairman, after some more interruptions, continued his remarks, and said the Evicted Tenants' Fund was started without any consultation or communication with the Irish National Federation. The decision of the Committee was that the fund should be handed over in the names of three trustees, and that practically the fund should be collected through the branches of the Federation. That process had been repeated in regard to

### **THE HOME RULE FUND AND THE NATIONAL FUND,**

and the effect had been to practically cut off the resources of the Irish National Federation. He did not think the Committee of the

Parliamentary Party, or the three trustees, were justified in cutting the ground from under the feet of the Federation. What happened in the case of the *Freeman's Journal*?

A Voice—We don't want to know anything.

Another Voice—Put him out. (Confusion).

Chairman—If you don't want to hear you can go out.

A Voice—What about the political prisoners and the evicted tenants? (Cheers, followed by considerable uproar).

The Chairman, continuing after further interruptions, said the system of government by Committee carried on in the Party was

### **A VICIOUS SYSTEM.**

In a Party, constituted like theirs, it was necessary that a number of men should be paid from the National funds, and those who were in the position of paymasters would have control over other men. That state of having the payment of members in the hands of a few should not exist in the Irish party. Mr. Dillon had been very eloquent on the point of obeying the majority. But the party had passed a resolution unanimously that no action should be taken with reference to the

### **DIRECTORATE OF THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL"**

until the question of paying Captain O'Connor was disposed of; and within a few weeks Mr. Dillon came, in defiance of the resolution of the Party, to the Imperial Hotel. He did not obey the majority. (Uproar.)

A Voice—The question is did he do wrong? (Loud cries of "Order," and uproar.)

The Chairman—**Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien were the cause of the distractions in the Party.** (Cries of "No, no.") Mr. O'Brien had been offered the editorship of the *National Press*; he withdrew the light of his countenance from them, and he thought they would collapse.

A Voice—He did right.

Another Voice—He did wrong. (Uproar.)

A third Voice—He had a right to go to the Parnellites at once.

A fourth Voice—**They would not have him.** (Laughter, and cries of "Order.")

The Chairman, continuing, referred to Mr. O'Brien's action regarding the constituency of North-East Cork. He (Mr. Murphy), was named by some leading men as a suitable candidate. Mr. O'Brien accordingly wrote a letter stating that if Mr. Murphy was selected he would

### **RETIRE FROM PUBLIC LIFE.**

A Voice—He had a right to be shoved out.

A Voice—Hurrah for Parnell. (Cheers and uproar).

The Chairman said that as a result of Mr. O'Brien's action, Mr. Cox was elected by the Committee of the Party. He (Chairman) would suggest as a remedy for this state of things, first, **abolition**



of this Committee altogether ; second, that the payment of members should not be in the hands of the Committee, and third, he would point out the necessity of

### **FREEDOM OF ELECTION.**

A man named Whelan then addressed the meeting, and said he had supported Mr. Murphy at the last election. (**Groans from the end of the room, and a voice, "You are not fit to speak here."**) The speaker was unable to proceed much further with his remarks, as there were cheers being called for

**FIELD, HEALY, MURPHY, PARNELL, AND  
O'BRIEN,**

at the same moment.

Mr. T. O'Rourke said—I have great pleasure in proposing the following resolution—(**A Voice—"You don't know how"**)—"That we, the members of the St. Patrick's Branch of the Irish National Federation, beg to tender our grateful thanks to Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P.—(**applause**)—

**A Voice—Hurrah for Parnell.** (Cheers).

**Another Voice—Cheers for O'Brien.** (Cheers).

**A third Voice—To hell with Healy.** (Uproar).

Mr. O'Rourke—"For his efforts to frustrate the proposed compromise with the Redmondites, and we regret—(**A Voice, "Who sold Stephen's Green?" and uproar**)—that Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien did not allow—contrary to the advice of Messrs. O'Connor and Knox—the legal action by the Redmondite Party to proceed—(**A Voice, "Cheers for the Redmondites," and cheers**)—which action we believe would have resulted in the speedy release of the Paris Funds."

A Voice—

### **TO H—L WITH MURPHY.**

A scene of considerable confusion now commenced in the room and lasted for some time. Ineffectual efforts were made to eject some people.

Mr. M'Donnell seconded the resolution, and said he would only do so formally as there were **a lot of blackguards** in the room.

The Chairman declared the resolution carried.

A member stood up to speak, but the Chairman said he could not hear him as the resolution was carried. The proceedings then came to a termination amid cheers for the different sections of the M'Carthyite party, and with cheers for Mr. Field, M.P., as well.

# THE LATE MR. JOHN BRIGHT

## ON IRELAND AND HOME RULE.

My sympathy with Ireland, north and south, compels me to condemn the proposed legislation [Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886.] I believe the united Parliament can be and will be more just to all classes in Ireland than any Parliament that can meet in Dublin under the provisions of Mr. Gladstone's bill. If Mr. Gladstone's great authority were withdrawn from these bills, I doubt if twenty members outside the Irish party in the House of Commons would support them. The more I consider them the more I lament that they have been offered to the Parliament of the country.—[Letter to the Council of Central Division of Birmingham, 31st May, 1886.]

Thirty years ago the bulk of the Liberal party—pledged to peace, retrenchment, and reform—followed Lord Palmerston into the war with Russia. Now the party will condemn their course of thirty years ago. At this moment they are talking for, and voting for, measures which few of them understand, accepting them as good from the hands of a popular Minister.

I have been associated very intimately with this popular Minister for twenty years. I have spoken for Ireland for thirty years, and have implored successive Prime Ministers to do what legislation can do for that country. My sympathy for the Irish people is as warm and as real as ever it was, and it is with this sympathy unbroken and unimpaired that I dare not hand over their interests to the conspiracy which is bent on destroying the owners of the land as one step—as they hope a successful step—towards the severance of Ireland from the United Kingdom.

I think a majority of instructed and thoughtful men in Ireland will prefer the protection and the justice of the Parliament of the Three Kingdoms at Westminster to the rule of the conspiracy to whom so much of the present suffering and demoralisation of their unhappy country is due.—[Letter to a Liberal Unionist of Birmingham, February 7th, 1887.]

I am as true a friend to Ireland now as I have ever been, and it is for this reason that I object to sever the United Kingdom, and to surrender 5,000,000 of our population to the rule of a conspiracy which is represented in the House of Commons by forty or fifty members who sit there by virtue of contributions from America, from men whose avowed object is to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and permanently to break up the Union of the Three Kingdoms. I have made no change in my opinions of the Irish question. Others have changed, and to them my consistency is offensive. They follow their leader and strive to look happy in the pit of difficulty and party ruin into which his mistakes have led them. I cannot join them or help them. I can only deplore the wreck of the Liberal party which I see around me.—[Letter to correspondent, June 30th, 1887.]

I have had during all my political life a great sympathy for your country and your people. This I have shown in many speeches



made on their behalf, when those who pretend now to talk loudly in their favour were silent or were opposed to me. I cannot consent to subject your population, Protestant or Catholic, to the acting members and chiefs of the conspiracy which has done so much to demoralise your country.—[Letter to Belfast Liberal, July 1st, 1887.]

In 1800 the Catholics sought relief from the intolerance of the Protestant party. In our day the Irish Protestants protest against being subjected to the Catholic Parliament and party which Mr. Gladstone's policy would place in supreme power in Dublin. I believe the most intelligent of your Catholic countrymen, and the possessors of property among them, would prefer to entrust their future and their fortunes to an Imperial Parliament in Westminster rather than to an assembly in Dublin, directed by the leaders of the revolutionary scheme now pressed forward, in alliance with the bitter hostility of the Irish and anti-English party in the United States.—[Letter to a County Mayo gentleman, August 8th, 1887.]

I never was more the friend of Ireland than I am now, when objecting to handing the unfortunate country over to the rule of the revolutionary and rebel conspiracy with which the Government is now contending. Justice to Ireland requires not only that the laws should be just, but that they should be obeyed. It is my sympathy with the Irish people which forces me into strong opposition to the political views of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell. The latter, so far as I know, has not changed. The former five years ago condemned and denounced him; now he comes forward as his apologist and defender.—[Letter to a Glasgow correspondent, October 1st, 1887.]

You speak of the drastic policy of the Government. It is much less drastic than the policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1881 and 1882, and if anyone denies this he is either ignorant of the Acts of these years or is guilty of falsehood. In 1881 many hundreds of men were put in prison for months without trial, without evidence against them, without defence of counsel, and without any proof of having broken the law. Now no man is punished or imprisoned except after trial by two magistrates, in an open Court, when witnesses may be heard in his behalf, and when counsel may be heard in his defence.—[Letter to an Irish voter, in his constituency, December 9th, 1887.]

It is to the 86 Irish members, of whom it is said that at least 40 or them sit in Parliament by right of dollars contributed in America by the avowed enemies of England and of the Queen's right of Government, that **the great English Liberal Party is called on to abandon its past policy and to prostrate itself before an odious, illegal, and immoral conspiracy**; and to this conspiracy, made a Parliament in Dublin, we are to transfer the government of **two millions of the Irish people who are as loyal as are the inhabitants of the County of Warwick**. And all this we are asked and advised to do by a statesman who has been for ten years the chief adviser of the Crown. **There are some men in the House of Commons now following Mr. Gladstone and his Irish colleagues, who do so with great doubt; some, I am persuaded, with a feeling not far removed from loathing. Their**

countenances express dissatisfaction and regret, and something akin to shame. How long they will march in line with the Irish 86, how long they will come up day by day to the whip of the front Opposition bench, the progress of the Session will show. We, who remain true to the principles and policy of the Liberals, who have gained so many victories of recent years, must grieve over the temporary ruin of the party. But we may console ourselves with the knowledge that our course has been direct, and that we stand before the country guiltless of the mischief and without shame.—[Letter to Mr. Chamberlain, from Rochdale, 30th May, 1887.]

### ULSTER.

The following letter was received on June 8th, 1887, from Mr. Bright by Mr. Thomas Sinclair, of Hopefield, Belfast, in reply to one enclosing copies of resolutions passed at a recent Liberal Unionist meeting in that town :

“ONE ASH, ROCHDALE, *June 6, 1887.*

“DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your friendly letter and for the copy of the resolutions passed at your recent great meeting on the question of the Union.

“I have just been reading Mr. Gladstone’s speeches in South Wales. He speaks as if there were no province of Ulster and no Protestant or loyal Catholic population in Ireland.

“He seems ignorant or unconscious of the fact that the whole of Wales had a population in 1881 of only 1,360,000, which is I think less than that of Ulster by something more than 300,000. Ulster may be a nationality differing from the rest of Ireland at least as much as Wales differs from England, but Wales is treated to a flattery which, if not insincere, seems to me childish, and Ulster is forgotten in the discussion of the Irish question.

“Is it not wonderful how one-sided Mr. Gladstone can be, and how his great intellect can be subjected to one idea, and how he can banish from his mind everything, however important, which does not suit the purpose or object he has before him. He speaks, too, as if it were a good thing to make Wales almost as un-English as he assumes all Ireland to be. He conceals the fact that there are more loyal men and women in Ireland than the whole population of men and women in Wales. It is sad that a great Minister should descend to artifices so transparent, and that crowds of his countrymen should be thus imposed upon.

“Yours very sincerely,

“JOHN BRIGHT.”

On the publication of this letter Mr. Gladstone addressed the following to Mr. Bright :—

“DOLLIS HILL, *June 11, 1887.*

“MY DEAR BRIGHT,—Having my attention called by many correspondents to your letters of the 6th inst., and always regarding you as a good and kind friend, I write to apprise you that you have inadvertently fallen into an error of fact when, as you say, I spoke as if there was no province of Ulster. In that same speech, referring to the essentials of the Irish Government Bill, I spoke expressly of Ulster as you will find by reference to any report of tolerable accuracy.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. E. GLADSTONE.”



In response to which Mr. Bright addressed the following letter to Mr. Gladstone:—

"MY DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—My remarks as to your speech was not strictly accurate. I wrote from memory, and the sentence about Ulster was not sufficiently definite to have fixed itself in my memory. I regret the apparent want of accuracy; **but on reading over the report of your speech I may observe that you deal with the Ulster question in a way not calculated to give any comfort or any hope to the loyal population of that province.**

"You say 'If there be a desire, a well-considered desire, on the part of the Protestant population in the portion of Ulster capable of being dealt with separately, we were perfectly agreed to consider any plan for the purpose.' But can anything be more unsatisfactory than this sentence? You ask for a 'well-considered desire' on the part of the 'Protestant population.' Has it not been known to all men that the desire has been 'well-considered,' and that it has been expressed in the loudest tones by those who are entitled to speak for the Protestant inhabitants of the province?

"You speak of the Protestants 'in the portion of Ulster capable of being dealt with separately,' and for these you are prepared 'to consider any plan for the purpose;' but you must know that any plan for dealing only with the Protestants of Ulster by themselves, and not associated with the rest of the population of the province, is an impossible plan, and not worth one moment's consideration.

"In dealing with this question, even in a speech to Welshmen, I think Ulster has a claim upon you for a definite expression of opinion as to your plan for the future government of the province. **Your plan a year ago was to place Ulster under the rule of a Parliament in Dublin, and the people know and dread that their future fortunes would be subject to the control of a body of men about whose character and aims you and I differ very seriously. You deem them patriots, I hold them to be not patriots, but conspirators against the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom. It is not long since we agreed, or I thought we agreed, on this point. You have changed your opinion. I can only regret that I have not been able to change mine.**

"I grieve that I cannot act with you as in years past, but **my judgment and my conscience forbid it.** If I have said a word that seems harsh or unfriendly, I will ask you to forgive it.

"Always sincerely yours,

"JOHN BRIGHT.

"The Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P."

# IRISH PRIESTS & IRISH VOTERS.

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THE Very Reverend Dr. Keane, O.P., the famous Dominican preacher, who, "since the death of Father Burke, has been looked on as the most notable of the Order of Preachers in Ireland," delivered a remarkable political sermon in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Cork, on the evening of Sunday, the 24th September, 1893.

"The occasion," says the *Irish Daily Independent* (Nationalist) of September 26th, "was such as to lend exceptional gravity to the sermons. Sunday was the concluding day of a retreat in the parish. For a fortnight the people had gathered there daily to pray, to meditate upon the great mysteries of religion, to prepare for the worthy reception of the Sacraments, that in the end, cleansed of their sins, they might fare forth on life's way regenerated and strengthened by Divine Grace to faithfully discharge their duties to themselves, to their neighbours, and to their God. It was at such a time, **when the souls of the thousands who had listened to his religious exhortations were inflamed to fervour** that the preacher, using all the arts of a skilled orator, denounced those Catholic Irishmen who are not Whigs as enemies of the Church.

"The preacher's remarks, which amounted to a powerful appeal—nay, a spiritual threat—to Catholics to desert the Independent Party, were illustrated by a story of the usual anonymous character, told to the reverend preacher by a priest of his acquaintance. This story was to the effect that a Catholic man some time ago was lying ill in an hospital, and was there attended by the clergyman. A few days later the patient was removed to his own home, and, getting suddenly worse, the priest was again summoned to his bedside. On this occasion, though the man was obviously dying, he refused, according to Dr. Keane's informant, to listen to his exhortations; he cursed and swore, and told the priest that he would not listen to him, that he and his class had ruined the country; and in this state he died an hour afterwards. The clergyman, added Dr. Keane, asked the man's wife whether any person had called on her husband, to account for this awful change in his demeanour, and she answered that four men, calling themselves Independents, had called upon him.

**This story told with all the eloquence of the famous preacher made a most profound impression on the congregation. The silence during its recital was almost painful, the worshippers were literally spellbound at the tale of horror. There can be no denying the fact that this illustration of the alleged evils of Independent principles produced, as it was intended to do, a very marked**



**effect on the less robust of the Independents who were present in great numbers.** Some few left the church in disgust when they saw the pulpit thus turned into a recruiting ground for the Whig party; but the vast bulk of the Independent Nationalists present were too shocked, as it has been described by one of themselves, to be able to move." The narrative itself is denoted by the *Independent* (September 30th), "a bit of dramatically told fiction."

Dr. Keane concluded his sermon with the following reference to the action of the *Freeman's Journal* during the political crisis of 1890:—

"When, nigh three years ago, a man seated at the editorial desk of a Dublin newspaper, in the secrecy of soundless midnight exhorted the Irish race to take a certain side in a grave public question, and **twenty-six men with the unction of episcopal consecration upon them** exhorted the Irish race to take the other side—they who were led by the anonymous scribe whose character they knew not, whose religion they knew not, and who despised the faithful teaching of the prelates that knelt down and prayed 'Come, Holy Ghost, enlighten our minds that we may teach thy people,'—the renegade Catholic who foreswore allegiance to his mother Church in that fashion, I should tremble, exclaimed the preacher, **I should tremble to stand in the place of such a one for the awful day when the Eternal Judge will decide the destinies of men** according to the stern and chaste requirements of the law delivered on Sinai."

"Imagine," says the Nationalist *Evening Herald* of the same date, "the effect of such words upon a crowded and excited congregation on an occasion of special solemnity! . . . This sorry travesty of human liberty in political matters which the Rev. Dr. Keane has promulgated in the name of M'Carthyism, under the guise of religion, would keep Irishmen slaves for ever in their own land. These teachings would, if enforced throughout the world, re-plunge all peoples into utter darkness. In free England and in free America clerical authorities would not dare to preach such political diatribes to their congregations. Yet who shall say that the Catholics of England and of America are 'renegade' Catholics and disloyal to their Church? That kind of intimidation is reserved for unfortunate Ireland, in which every movement for political freedom and progress has been attacked and broken by the action of political clergy."

The *Independent* of September 30th, adds the information that this sermon is the Very Rev. Preacher's "set piece for the winding up of all retreats and missions which he conducts; and he invariably delivers it on the closing night of the devotions. Then it is best calculated to influence the minds of a susceptible audience."

# The Nonconformists and Home Rule.

The following letter, from the Rev. Edward White, ex-Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, appears in *The Times* of October 16th, 1893 :—

SIR,—As one completely apart from the struggles of party, I venture to ask my Nonconformist brethren to bethink themselves of the position in which they now stand in reference to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P., with the support of a great body of the Irish people, has announced within the last four days a new policy, and he has rejected the Home Rule Bill as a full settlement of the "National demand." He has repudiated Mr. Dillon's acceptance of the Bill as "a piece of gross presumption and gross stupidity," and he has appealed to the young men of Ireland to "organize themselves" with the view of obtaining, not local government, but national independence, and to "drive from public life this *sickly and maudlin sentimentality of those who would trust the future destinies of Ireland to the love and affection of our British masters.*" Those who wish to see the real feeling of that portion of the Irish people who follow Mr. Redmond should read the speeches reported in the *Irish Daily Independent* for the first three days of this week.

It is no secret to those acquainted with the real views of English Nonconformity, that the general opinion of Dissenters in this country is that Mr. Gladstone's Bill contains certain features repugnant to them. They dislike the introduction of a block of eighty irresponsible Roman Catholic Irish members into the House of Commons, invested with full power to vote on all matters relating to British education and trade, while British members are denied reciprocal powers in Ireland. *They dislike the unequal taxation imposed on Great Britain, and they doubt the policy of investing the Irish hierarchy with such powers as are conferred under the Bill.* Nevertheless, Gladstonian Dissenters are willing to accept these conditions, not because they like them, but because they pave the way to something else that they passionately desire. Behind the question of Home Rule is the question of Disestablishment.

We Nonconformists, Gladstonian and Unionist alike, regard Disestablishment as a matter of reason and conscience. It is on this ground that I venture to appeal to my younger brethren to consider *how far their alliance with Mr. Redmond and the Physical Force Party is a union that can be defended on principles of reason and conscience.* If Nonconformists repudiate dynamite, the village ruffian, and National independence for Ireland, why do not some of them come forward and state openly and boldly the measure of autonomy beyond which they are not prepared to go? The mere announcement on the part of the younger leaders of dissent that they abhor and repudiate physical violence, and will reconsider their whole position if outrages occur, would accomplish three good ends—

1. It would go far to prevent outrage.



2. It would inform the Irish people what is the *maximum* of autonomy that they may expect.

3. It would clear the ground for a final settlement of the Irish question.

The Gladstonian Nonconformists deposed Parnell for immorality. Will they not make it equally clear that not even for the sake of Welsh or English Disestablishment will they connive silently at the wrong involved in supporting Mr. Redmond's policy. *That which is morally wrong can never be politically right*, and I venture to invite my friends in the Gladstonian camp to express at this moment with sufficient distinction the opinions on Mr. Redmond's policy which I know them to possess.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

EDWARD WHITE.

Hilda's Mount, Mill Hill, October 13th.

#### NOTE.

There are certain other speeches besides Mr. Redmond's which should be studied by those who wish to realise the responsibility of the Gladstonian leaders for the rapidly reviving popularity of the "Physical Force Party" in Ireland. They are the utterances of Liberals now in office, which daily serve as fuel to the flame of Redmondite agitation.

The following is an extract from a speech which the Right Hon. G. F. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P. (now Mr. Gladstone's First Commissioner of Works, and a member of the Cabinet), addressed on December 10th, 1889, to a great Convention of the County Galway, held in connection with the Tenants' Defence Association:—

"Meet combination by combination. Time is on your side. The day cannot now be very distant when there will be a general election. These wholesale evictions, these syndicates of landlords to crush tenants, their use of the Crimes Act to imprison and punish tenants engaged in combination, will be *a potent weapon in our hands in the elections*. Come they sooner or later, the only difference will be in the less or more complete victory. *There can be no doubt that within a month after such a victory on the hustings every emergencyman will have fled the country*, and every bogus tenant will have resolved himself into his original elements, and agreement will be come to, *if not voluntarily, by some legislative process*. . . . I say that a Parliament in which the Liberal Party has a majority, will make *short work* of these cases, and that every tenant who has been unjustly evicted may confidently hope to be reinstated in his holding."—*Freeman's Journal*, 11th December, 1889.

The author of these assurances has now (October, 1893), been fourteen months in the Cabinet, and the legislation which was to have been carried within one month has not been introduced. Is it wonderful that his speeches are quoted, with inflammatory effect, by the orators of the new "Policy of Fight?"

# The Anti-Parnellites on the Situation.

OCTOBER, 1893.

The following resolutions (passed by branches of the "Irish National Federation" during the first half of October, 1893—*i.e.*, within a few weeks of the rejection of the Home Rule Bill)—are quoted as showing the lack of real popular feeling on the Home Rule question amongst Mr. Gladstone's Irish allies. The Anti-Parnellite Nationalists are supposed to be Mr. Gladstone's most cordial supporters; yet here we see the main energies of their organization occupied in attacks, not on the House of Lords, but on the management of their own party, and on certain departments of Mr. Gladstone's administration :—

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Durrow and Cullohill (Queen's Co.) branch, October 1st, unanimously resolved :—

"That we regret the action of our representative, Mr. Crean, in joining in a vote of confidence in the Parliamentary Committee, considering the **hopeless muddle** in which they seem to have landed the question of the liberation of the Paris Funds."

"That we condemn the quasi-secret negotiations entered into by a section of Nationalists with the Redmondites in regard to the Paris Funds, and declare our settled determination **not to contribute one penny to the Parliamentary Fund**, until the nature and result of the said negotiations be made public."—*Irish Catholic*, October 7th, 1893.

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Clara (King's County) branch, October 1st, unanimously resolved :—

"That we fully approve of Mr. Healy's timely exposure of the **mischievously concerted plot (Messrs. DILLON'S and O'BRIEN'S)** by which at least £14,000 of the Paris Funds were to be handed over to the Redmondites, without a vestige of authority from the Parliamentary party."—(*ib.*)

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Killavullen (Co. Cork) branch, October 1st, resolved :—

"That we view with the most serious reprehension the action of certain members of the Parliamentary party, who are pursuing a policy of wreck and disaster, ostensibly pleading for the evicted, while in reality **their motive consists in personal spleen and jealousy.**"—*Freeman's Journal*, October 4th.

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Kilcoo (Co. Fermanagh) branch, October 8th, unanimously resolved :—

"That we protest against '**bossism**' in the Irish party, and think the time has come to insist upon a free National Press, free speech, free election, and a free and independent National Fund."—*Irish Catholic*, October 4th.

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Ballynahinch and Dunmore (Co. Down) branch, October 8th, unanimously resolved :—

"That we cannot approve of the action of the Committee of the



Irish Parliamentary party in maintaining such close secrecy in regard to the disposal of public funds. We would urge upon the several branches of the Federation the **necessity of maintaining freedom of election** in the constituencies, of selecting their own candidates, and **not tamely submitting to be controlled by ambitious members of Parliament**. By adopting this course they can compel unity in the party, and prevent the evils resulting from **DICTATION**.”—(*Ib.*)

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Rosemount (Co. Westmeath) branch, October 8th, unanimously resolved :—

“That we place our entire confidence in the men who bore the brunt of the battle, and **NOT** in those who, in the hour of need, had not the courage of their convictions, but **went into prison**, leaving the people in doubt as to which side they would take when coming out.”—(*Ib.*)

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Rower (South Kilkenny) branch, October 8th, resolved :—

“That the sum of £10 voted to be remitted to the Home Rule Fund be **not forwarded** until we have satisfactory assurances that the Paris Funds, or any other fund under National control, will not be handed over to the Factionists on any pretence whatever.”—(*Ib.*)

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Scrabby and Mullinslacta (Co. Longford) branch, October 8th, resolved :—

“That we join with the members of the Longford branch, in **denouncing the insult offered by the Whig CHANCELLOR WALKER** to the National sentiment of the county Longford, in adding three more names to the long list of sixty-three Unionist and Tory magistrates who already grace (or disgrace) the magisterial bench of the county, while there is not a single Nationalist J.P. in the entire county ; and we say that if such appointments are repeated, it will soon become a question for the Irish party how long they can continue to support the **so-called Liberal Government**, that will thus venture to outrage public feeling.”—(*Ib.*)

**IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION**, Tipperary branch, October 15th, unanimously resolved :—

“That we deem the explanation offered by our representative, Mr. Mandeville, M.P., as entirely unsatisfactory ; and that we declare that in giving a **VOTE OF CONFIDENCE TO MR. M'CARTHY**, and in allying himself with a policy that has for its object the expulsion of Mr. Healy from public life, he has **misrepresented his constituency** of South Tipperary.”—*Freeman's Journal*, October 16th.

THE  
UNIONIST OUTLOOK:  
A SPEECH

DELIVERED

*AT DUBLIN ON THE 7th DECEMBER, 1893.*

BY

A. V. DICEY, Q.C., B.C.L.,

VINERIAN PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

[REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.]





## THE UNIONIST OUTLOOK.

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MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You will ask me why I have come to address you. I will tell you.

I am a professor and a lecturer. I have no claim to be an orator. I have not come to deliver a speech of the eloquent kind which you would get from my friend Mr. T. W. Russell. I have not the folly to bring oratory to Dublin. You have enough of it here already. Some of your critics think, I see, that you have rather too much of it; at any rate you have enough. To bring eloquence to Dublin is to bring coals to Newcastle.

Still less have I the incredible folly—or rather the folly which would be incredible were it not so common—to suppose that to an assembly like this I can give information or advice about the state of Ireland. I know, indeed, something of Irish affairs and Irish history. I know, probably, not less than Mr. Morley, and certainly more than Mr. Gladstone. But for all this, I have the modesty to assume that Irishmen are the best judges about the condition of Ireland.

Nor, though I am, so to speak, a professed controversialist on the Home Rule question, am I going to examine the arguments for or against Home Rule. These arguments are exhausted. I have long let it be known that I would give five pounds for a new argument, and one guinea for a new fallacy, on the subject of Home Rule. I ought, probably, to have reversed the prices, for fallacies are now-a-days much more



potent than arguments. But however this may be, I have not received from friend or foe either a new argument or a new fallacy.

My reason for coming before you is that I propose to speak about a matter on which I have a right to speak, which I well know, and which I venture to say I understand. I intend to speak to you of the actual position of affairs: to tell you how the Home Rule controversy looks, not to a statesman—a title to which I have no claim;—not to a politician—which I am thankful to say I am not—but to a thoughtful man who has kept his eye on the progress of events, and who has carefully observed how things have gone ever since the beginning of this Home Rule controversy, and even for some time before it began.

Many of you are, I find, in a hopeful state of mind, and think that things look bright. My first duty and my first object is to impress upon you that your hopes are unfounded. You never stood in greater danger of Home Rule being established than you do at the present moment.

The Home Rule Bill, you say, is dead. So be it. But the Home Rule Ministry is not dead. Home Rulers are in power. We Unionists stand in a position far worse than we ever occupied before. Partly through our own fault, partly through the unkindness of circumstances, we have suffered a defeat. The Ministerial majority, it is true, is small, but it is a majority. The Home Rule Bill has been thrown out; but for the first time since 1800, Home Rule, or, in other words, Repeal of the Union, has been sanctioned by the House of Commons. This is no slight calamity.

Look carefully at the state of affairs. Consider how matters stand; look, above all, at the strength of the Gladstonian position. The Gladstonians have unity of guidance; they are commanded, and despotically commanded, by the most active, and the most confident, and the most unscrupulous of leaders; they have unity of aim; some of them from enthusiasm, some of them from motives less exalted than enthusiasm, and most of

them influenced by that strange mixture of feelings, partly bad, partly good, which we sum up under the term-party spirit, are absolutely determined to carry some kind of Home Rule Bill. Hence they have perfect unity of action. It has been well said by a master of military art that "one bad general is better than two good"; and, unfortunately, we are contending in our Parliamentary conflict under three excellent generals—excellent, indeed, but still three—against one general, who is a Parliamentary tactician of supreme skill. It is a most serious matter that we Unionists have not the advantage of single and undivided guidance. Then again—and this is a point I wish to impress upon you with the utmost strength—the Ministerialists are linked together by a bond of iron necessity. The Gladstonians must conquer, or the existing so-called "Liberal Party" must perish. They cannot do without the Irish vote. This is the key to the whole political situation. The Radicals, the Socialists, the miscalled Liberals—for they have long ago sacrificed all care for liberty—the whole body, in short, of revolutionists who aim at changing the foundations of English society, constitute in Great Britain, for the moment, a strong minority, but still merely a minority, and in England they are a weak minority; they are a minority, moreover, which under defeat would soon be dissolved into hostile factions. There is not a chance that without the Irish vote they could carry out their policy of revolution; and unless this policy is carried out, they will cease as a party to exist. Their policy can be carried through, if at all, only by alliance with the Irish leaders. The alliance and support of these leaders the Gladstonians must have at any cost. No doubt the price which the Gladstonians are asked to pay is high. They don't like the price, but they will pay it; and there is no price they will not pay, because the aid of the 80 Irish Members is essential to the life of the Gladstonian party. Keep this in mind, and you will at once dismiss a host of false hopes by which we are deluded.

We are told, for instance, and quite rightly, to thank Heaven that we have a House of Lords; and it is suggested that the



Peers who have saved us once may save us permanently from Home Rule. The House of Lords has saved us once; it may, for aught I know, save us once again. But don't be mistaken; don't trust for safety in the power of the House of Lords. The power of the Peers is nothing more than the power of the English people. Once convince the House of Lords that the House is not supported by the overwhelming weight of English opinion, and the strength of the Peers will be gone. The 400 or the 500 Lords who threw out the Bill will vanish away, and somehow or other a Bill establishing Home Rule and dissolving the Union will pass into law. For this I do not blame the Lords; it is not their duty to resist the deliberate will of the nation.

You are told again that you will be saved by the quarrels of the Irish party, and certainly the wrangles between Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, between Healyites and M'Carthyites, present to Unionists an interesting and, from some points of view, a comic subject of contemplation. But don't believe for a moment that Mr. Healy, Mr. Redmond, or Mr. Sexton will quarrel for your benefit. Cynics have, falsely I hold, divided the world into fools and knaves. Now if for a moment we accept this unsatisfactory division, I may observe that I certainly don't class either the Parnellites or the Anti-Parnellites among the fools; and nothing but the most arrant folly could lead them to quarrel for the benefit of Unionists. You might as well expect highwaymen who have seized a rich traveller to fall to fighting among themselves for the benefit of the traveller whom they are robbing and so let their victim escape. The Home Rule leaders have their private and even their public feuds, but they won't fight each other for your advantage; if you rely upon their quarrels for your safety, you are lost.

Then, again, we are told that the happy day may come when Mr. Gladstone will pass away. Hear me out, gentlemen, for I don't want to be misunderstood. The day referred to is the happy day when Mr. Gladstone may pass away from the House of Commons to a better, a quieter, and a happier place,

by which, of course, I mean the House of Lords. When he passes away from power, though not from life, you are told you will be safe. I tell you frankly that you will not be safe. Gladstone has opened the ball; he will not close it; the end of Gladstone will not be the end of Gladstonianism. The collapse of the Home Rule movement would be the inevitable end of Gladstonian politics. But you must remember that as long as an unbroken body of Irish Home Rulers exists in the Parliament at Westminster, it is certain that sooner or later the revolutionists of England and the socialists of England, who are too weak to carry out their own policy, will ally themselves with the Irish advocates of disunion. The contest with revolution must, in any case, be a long and an arduous contest.

Then, lastly, you are told to count upon public apathy. Apathy, of course, there is, and plenty of it. Few, indeed, are the English politicians, and still fewer are the English electors who really care for Home Rule. English Gladstonians tolerate Home Rule because they wish for Disestablishment, because they wish for an Eight Hours Bill, because they wish for Temperance legislation, and the like. But even among Gladstonians there is to be found but small enthusiasm for Home Rule. Apathy, however, is not a sentiment on which you can rely. Apathy may under certain circumstances mean Conservatism, but it may equally well mean concession, compromise, disgrace, and treachery. There is but one thing in which you can trust, and that is in your own energy. I have come to tell you—and this is my true reason for coming to Ireland, and for coming before you to-night—I have come, I say, to tell you to trust in yourselves, and in yourselves alone.

I have set before you to the utmost of my ability the strength of the Gladstonian, and therefore the weakness of the Unionist, position. Now let me say what may seem to be, but really is not, a contradiction to the line of argument I have pursued. Unionism can conquer, should conquer, and will conquer. The victory is assured, but it is certain only on one condition. You must throw yourselves back upon the real



strength of Unionism. You ask me what this strength is. The strength of Unionism is, I answer, that it is a policy of morality, and that it is a policy of nationality. When I have shown that this is so, my task for this evening is done.

Unionism is a policy of political morality. It is a straightforward policy, it is a clear policy, it is an honest policy ; it has about it nothing of mystification, nothing of prevarication. In Unionism there is no element of pretence. We Unionists don't pretend that we are going to do one thing, and then do another. No Unionist has ever had the least hesitation in laying before the people all the principles, which are perfectly simple, of Unionist policy. We Unionists pursue but one end ; we set before us the straightforward, obvious, and clear aim of supporting the unity of the nation. On other matters we may disagree, but on this matter we are absolutely at one ; and let me remind you that straightforward honesty forms no small part of sound policy.

Then, again, we Unionists have no tolerance for crime ; we have no criminals in our ranks. Can any Gladstonian honestly say as much ? Don't misunderstand me. Let me adapt to the circumstances of our time the dictum of an American Republican—that is to say, an American Unionist—during the contest against Secession. “ I don't say,” said this American, “ that all Democrats are horse-stealers, but I do say that all horse-stealers are Democrats.” So I don't say that every supporter of Mr. Gladstone is a boycotter, a dynamiter, or an assassin. Far from it. But I do say that all the boycotters, the dynamiters, and the assassins are supporters of Mr. Gladstone.

Then, again, Unionists know nothing of favouritism ; we draw no distinction—one of the most hateful of distinctions—between the classes and the masses ; we consider all classes of citizens as equally entitled to equal rights. Here we touch the essential difference between Unionism and Gladstonianism. The policy of Unionism is a policy of justice for all and of favouritism for none. The policy of Gladstonianism is a scheme of

justice for none, and of favouritism or patronage for each. From this policy of favouritism flow the most singular contradictions. The Gladstonians deny to every man his rights, and offer to every man something to which he has no right. What, for instance, was the meaning of the ill-starred and portentous Commission presided over by Sir James Mathew? Was it at bottom anything better than an attempt—a desperate attempt—to devise some plan under which former tenants should be restored to holdings which they had no right to occupy, at the sacrifice of the clear rights both of landlords and of honest occupiers. Consider for a moment the spirit displayed in some recent legislation. Nothing would appear more clear, according to ordinary principles of justice, than that artizans should be allowed, if they pleased, to enter into contracts beneficial both to themselves and to their employers. Nothing, one would have thought, was more certain than that it was a distinct benefit for the public that, by a liberal system of insurance, railway servants should be allowed, with the aid of their employers, to guard both against the calamitous effects of accidents and against the risks and uncertainty of litigation. This is not the idea of the trades unions; this is not, therefore, the idea of the Gladstonians. They say to the most intelligent of English artizans, “ We won’t allow you to make contracts which you deem beneficial, because other artizans do not choose to enter into these contracts.” Think, again, what is the position of statesmen who are prepared to give, it may be quite rightly, large powers to parish meetings, and are not prepared to allow labourers to fix at what hour they will hold parish meetings. These true democrats, these true friends of the people, these worshippers of the working-man and the agricultural labourer in effect say, “ We will increase the liabilities of your employers, but we will not allow you to bargain for yourselves; we will found parish meetings for you, and we will not allow you to fix the hour when they shall meet. The whole scheme of Gladstonian policy is tainted by the spirit of partisanship and favouritism. The excuse, I suppose.



for the limitations put, for example, on an artizan's freedom of contract is that workmen cannot protect their own rights. The allegation is unfounded. But note what it comes to; it comes to this: that men alleged not to have independence enough to manage their own affairs are to be trusted to decide complicated questions of high policy, and to determine whether England shall or shall not maintain the union with Ireland.

My words may seem to imply that the Gladstonians have no political morality. But don't let me be misunderstood. They have a morality of their own—they have a great deal of morality. but then it is such a strange, perverted, topsy-turvy kind of morality. Here are one or two specimens of the Gladstonian moral code. Our Gladstonians are great in the matter of penitence; they are always in fits of repentance for past crimes with which neither they, nor you, nor I have any connexion whatever. They are greatly exercised in mind, I believe, about the misdeeds of Strongbow; they are terribly troubled about the real or alleged tyranny of Irish Protestants and Irish landlords in past centuries. This, it may be supposed, argues at least a tender conscience; but our friends, to make up for their excessive and undue repentance for crimes which nobody can lay to their charge, show a leniency equally exaggerated, and far more reprehensible, towards offences and crimes for which, at any rate, they must share the responsibility. How many and how ingenious are the Gladstonian excuses for the odious and abominable system which they palliate under the name of exclusive dealing. How lenient are they to boycotters; with what tenderness and candour do they judge conspirators. Whilst they repent in sackcloth and ashes, or rather call upon you and me to repent in sackcloth and ashes, for every crime committed in past ages by men long dead, they palliate, if they do not justify, the wrongs and the cruelties committed by the agitators or the conspirators of to-day. What is the reason of this paradoxical tenderness and equally paradoxical hardness of conscience? The reason is plain. It is that repentance for the past helps the Gladstonian party at the present

moment, whilst to denounce present crime would destroy the Gladstonian party altogether. The Gladstonians are in truth the lineal descendants of the Jacobin of a century ago, who

Visits ancient wrongs on modern times,  
And punishes the Pope for Cæsar's crimes.

Yet our modern revolutionists are a trifle more irrational than their political ancestors. It is, perhaps, possible for political fanaticism, by some perverse system of historical interpretation, to trace some connexion between Cæsar and the Pope. One can hardly say how perverse may be the conclusions produced by the union between antiquarian pedantry and political intolerance. But by what possible process of reasoning we of the present day can be called upon to repent for the wrongs which Englishmen and Irishmen, Protestants and Roman Catholics, have inflicted upon each other in past ages, I know not. What was the common sense of expecting that John Bright should repent for the crimes, real or imaginary, committed by the ancestors of Mr. Parnell?

To this perverted, twisted morality of modern Jacobinism, of which the parents are sentimentalism and party spirit, we must oppose the ordinary common-sense morality of everyday life which is the morality blessed by heaven, and founded in the nature of things. Let me, however, before I go further, show you, by an example, that I am not rashly charging the Gladstonians with offences against public morals.

If I were called upon to name among all the horrors connected with the agitation for Home Rule, or with the system of intimidation on which that agitation was based, the feature which deserves the most unmitigated condemnation, the trait I should choose as more odious than another would not be the oppression of innocent men and women; it would not be boycotting; it would not even be the alliance with the Clan-na-Gael, or the tolerance of assassination: it would be the torturing of innocent animals. This offence cannot be imputed to the Irish nation; if it could be so imputed, it would be



the eternal disgrace of the people who countenanced it. In ordinary justice to our opponents, I say at once, and say gladly, that there is not a man in Parliament, that there is not an agitator out of Parliament, that there is not even a single one of those gentlemen who came before the Special Commission, and were convicted of criminal and cruel conspiracy, who does not from his heart detest the cruel outrage to which I refer as heartily as you and I detest it. But while I make this admission fully and gladly, I also assert that the conduct of the Gladstonian leaders with regard to outrage and violence generally, and especially with regard to this offence of torture, has not been the conduct which we had a right to expect. In 1886 the Gladstonians joined themselves to a party of dubious character. The Gladstonians, in effect, took into their hands the guidance of the Home Rule agitation, and became, whether they wished it or not, responsible for its conduct. I should have expected that at this crisis the Gladstonian leaders would have said, as O'Connell would have said, and in effect did say, in regard to outrages committed in his time, as Davis and the leaders of Young Ireland would have said, and in effect did say in their day, "This intimidation. this oppression, this cruelty, these horrors must come to an end; we will have none of it." Some one—who was it, I wonder?—said something, I believe, about not lecturing a nation. Mr. Gladstone, an apologist may suggest (the suggestion is a very feeble one), did not feel he had the right to speak out. But Mr. Gladstone is no coward. He can, when occasion requires, speak out decisively and imperiously. He can speak authoritatively, and at the risk of breaking up the whole Nationalist party, when it is necessary to throw a rival out of power, or on those rare occasions when the Nonconformist conscience suddenly awakens to unexpected sensitiveness. No doubt, remonstrances may have been made in private; no doubt Gladstonian members here or there may have individually denounced offences shocking to the conscience of mankind; you may find, I can well believe, amidst Mr. Gladstone's superabundant utterances some words regret-

ting acts of oppression or of cruelty. But all this is not enough. What was needed was a solemn, patent official denunciation of oppression which justice detests, and, above all, of cruelty which common humanity abhors. No such denunciation has been uttered; and men must be judged by their silence no less than by their words. I venture, therefore, to assert that responsibility for intimidation, for oppression, for outrage and torture, rests in no small degree upon the great, the moral Gladstonian party, and rests also upon that eminent and venerated leader who is as much at home in theological controversy as in Parliamentary tactics, and who, in the eyes of his admirers, is the model of the philanthropic—nay, more, of the Christian—statesman.

So much for morality. Let us now turn to what I have called the policy of nationality. The two topics are closely connected together; for it is impossible for any party to pursue a tortuous moral policy without also pursuing a scarcely national policy. Let me give you one instance, at least, in which Gladstonians have deviated from loyalty to the nation.

Honest men may hold different opinions as to the advisability of retaining Irish members at Westminster. It is easy enough to see the reasons—to my mind, the irresistible reasons—why, if there be an Irish Parliament at Dublin, Irish members ought to be removed from Westminster. I find it absolutely impossible to discover what right they can have both to govern Ireland and also to govern or, what under the circumstances would certainly be the case, to misgovern England; still it is possible that an honest man, of perverse or over-subtle intellect, may think for some reason, which to me is absolutely incomprehensible, that the Irish members must in any event be retained at Westminster. What is not possible is that a statesman can fairly shift from the policy of removal to the policy of retention just as convenience and considerations of party direct. Yet this is exactly the course which leading Gladstonians have taken. I am not speaking rashly. I will read you a quotation or two from the words of a very distinguished man. He is speaking



of the proposal to retain the Irish members at Westminster. "A system," he says, "of that kind does not strike me at least as being exactly the thing for a country of which we are assured that before everything else its prime want is a profound respite from political turmoil. There are plenty of other objections from the Irish point of view, which I am not now going to dwell upon. Depend upon it that an Irish Legislature will not be up to the magnitude of the enormous business that is going to be cast upon it, unless you leave all the brains that Irish public men have got to do Irish work in Ireland. Depend upon this, too, that if you have one set of Irish members in London, it is a moral certainty that disturbing rivalries, disturbing intrigues would spring up, and that the natural and wholesome play of forces and parties and leaders in the Irish Assembly would be complicated, and confused, and thrown out of gear by the separate representatives of the country. All this is bad enough." I should think it was, but it is by no means all the evil which our distinguished man who is a philosophic thinker has to tell us of the proposal which he is criticising. He goes on to give a list of the ills—the passage, alas! is too long for quotation—that Irish members at Westminster will bring upon England. "I cannot think," he says, "for my part I cannot see, how an arrangement of that sort promises well either for the condition of Ireland or for our Parliament. If anybody, in my opinion, were to move an amendment to our Bill in the House of Commons in such a direction as this, with all these consequences foreseen, I do not believe such an amendment would find twenty supporters."\*

These are the words of Mr. Morley; they were spoken at Newcastle on the 21st day of April, 1886. There is but one point in which he was mistaken. He thought then that not twenty votes could be found in favour of retaining the Irish

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\* Mr. Morley, at Newcastle, *The Times*, April 22, 1886. The whole of Mr. Morley's argument against the retention of the Irish members at Westminster should be reprinted and circulated throughout the United Kingdom. It is an admirable piece of reasoning, and absolutely fatal to a plan as injurious to Ireland as to England.

members. But there have been some hundreds of Gladstonian votes found in its favour. [Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P.—“Including his own.”] Yes, including Mr. Morley’s own vote. He, I must add, has respected himself, though he has not respected the English people. He has, as far as I know, never retracted his own well-founded opinion. He has been down more than once to Newcastle; he has been elected and re-elected there, but he has never, unless I am greatly mistaken, found time or opportunity to explain, or explain away, the cogent, the incontrovertible argument of the speech of 1886. He has not explained; he cannot explain it. He has never retracted his opinion. I respect him for this. He refuses to quibble over his change of front. He will vote with Mr. Gladstone, but he will not explain his intellectual disagreement with Mr. Gladstone. But after all, is there any reason to suppose that, in opinion, he does disagree with Mr. Gladstone? I doubt it. Mr. Gladstone has never uttered a word showing that he does not prefer, as I prefer, and as you prefer, the Bill of 1886 to the Bill of 1893. This course may, to a certain extent, save the self-respect of eminent men, but it does not vindicate the morality of their conduct. Let us take Mr. Morley as a sample. He is a very favourable sample of the Gladstonian leaders. Is it patriotism, is it decency, is it compatible with any sound code of political morals, is it consistent with any esteem or respect for the nation that a statesman should recklessly propose for your acceptance and try to force upon your acceptance a scheme which the man who brings it before you has himself condemned, with a force of argument and of logic which I, at least, cannot pretend to rival? Mr. John Morley has condemned the Bill of 1893; intellectually he has destroyed it, and yet he brings it forward, and votes for it. His words have been quoted again and again in print. I have quoted them myself; they have been for months before the world. To the patent objection that he supports in 1893 the very policy which he exposed in 1886, he makes no reply. He must feel the force of his own arguments; he is a trained



thinker, but he has forgotten that he was a philosopher; he remembers only that he is a Gladstonian; he says not one word. I propose, gentlemen, that we should send him a message, asking, with the utmost politeness, for an explanation. His time could not be better employed at Monte Carlo than in framing that explanation. If reasons exist for his change of front or change of opinion, I do not see why they cannot be stated. The retention of Irish members at Westminster is argumentatively indefensible; it deprives Home Rule of one benefit which Home Rule could, under any circumstances, confer upon Ireland, namely, the detachment of Ireland from that English party system, the connexion with which has more than once been to her calamitous. The plan which is ruin to Ireland is also gross injustice to England. Why, then, is it proposed? Why, then, if the Gladstonians have their way will it be carried out? Because, though it is destruction to the country, it is salvation to the Gladstonian party.

This is the only plea in its favour; from a partisan's point of view it is a satisfactory and a conclusive plea. It explains a strange revolution of opinion. In 1886, Mr. Gladstone proposed that the Irish members should quit Westminster. His followers apparently assented to the proposal. Now Gladstonians, if they believe in anything, believe in Mr. Gladstone. They are not easy to convert from their opinions or their errors. I know this by experience. Seven years and more I have laboured at their conversion; during the whole of this time I have converted but one Gladstonian, and this was done with the potent help of a friend. So I can claim only to have converted half a Gladstonian; and after all I am not certain that the convert was more than half converted. On one subject only Mr. Gladstone's supporters have been singularly open to conviction. It was easy enough to convince them that the Irish members must not quit Westminster. The explanation is not far to seek. In 1886, Mr. Gladstone made a slip; he thought that the Liberal party was strong enough to dispense with the presence of the Irish members. But his followers soon saw that

he had made a mistake. Dismiss the Irish members and the rule of Liberalism as they understood it, would be at an end. Their guiding spirit was party spirit; they perceived instinctively that the existence of their party was at stake; they rushed forward to the support of their party; they were converted from their error, not singly here and there, but everywhere and in crowds. Every Gladstonian is now persuaded, or can with ease be persuaded, of the truth of an astounding paradox; he believes that to detach Ireland from the baneful influence of English politics, it is absolutely necessary to keep the body of Irish representatives at Westminster, and that the true way of carrying out the principle of one man one vote is that every Irishman should have two votes, first a vote at Dublin on Irish affairs, with which England is not allowed to intermeddle, and next a vote at Westminster on English affairs, with which, under a system of Home Rule, an Irishman has no concern whatever. Mr. Gladstone, we all know, if he has not adopted the opinion, has followed the lead of his supporters. Did party spirit ever produce such an astounding delusion? Am I not right in saying that with the Gladstonians partisanship has extinguished patriotism? We, at any rate, stand up, not for the privileges of England, of Scotland, or of Ireland, but for the rights of the whole United Kingdom. We are not struggling for the triumph of a party; we Unionists, and we only, are the representatives of the nation.

But will you allow me here to make a digression? I have often feared, when putting forward the claims of the nation, and when urging that the Unionists are the true Nationalists, I might seem to youthful Irishmen to overlook or despise the just claims of Irish national feeling. Nothing is further from my thoughts. I do not wish—no Englishman can wish, no man of common sense, no man who sympathises with generous emotion can wish—that Irishmen should cease to feel for the calamities of their country, or should cease to feel pride in the special achievements of Irish genius. It would be a dark day, not for Ireland only, but for England and Scotland alike, should that day ever



dawn on which Irishmen should cease to glory in the satire and indignation of Swift, in the wit of Goldsmith, in the philosophy and benevolence of Berkeley, or, above all, in the transcendent genius of Burke. It would be the direst of calamities were you to forget the names of Grattan, of O'Connell, of any of the men who have illustrated Irish politics; greatest of all would be the misfortune of your ceasing to cherish and venerate the one truly national Irish institution—the institution, by the way, which the Gladstonians and their allies will certainly destroy—Trinity College. Firmly as I believe in the maintenance of the Union, I could fight on its behalf with but little zeal if I believed that Unionism required the sacrifice of anything worth preserving in the national character of any part of the United Kingdom. But no such sacrifice is required. It is the grossest error to confound national character with political separation. Take the case of Scotland. No one accuses the Scotch of lacking national feeling; our Scotch friends are inclined, we sometimes think, to be, if anything, too Scotch. Does Scotch sentiment necessitate the political independence of Scotland? History tells a different tale. What was the really great age of Scotland? When was witnessed that intellectual outburst of genius, not ending with, but carried to its highest point by Sir Walter Scott, which is the true glory of the Scottish nation? Did Scotch character display its power,—did it make itself known to the whole of Europe when Scotland had a petty, peddling, intriguing Parliament at Edinburgh? No; Scotch character developed freely, not before, but after the Union with England. Hume, Adam Smith, Dugald Stewart, Burns, Jeffrey, Scott, almost every man who has made the literature of Scotland illustrious, came to the front after the political separation of Scotland had come to an end. This was no mere accident. The termination of separation from England gave new life to the Scotch nation. Why could not the genius of Scotland flourish before the Union? Because the country was divided by factions, harassed by civil contests, torn by miserable

intrigues ; because every petty party and every petty leader, though the parties and the leaders were not so petty or so treacherous as some of the parties and some of the leaders who disturb the repose of Ireland, were fighting on their own account. When the Union at last put an end to local party contests, that the greatness of the nation was revealed to the world. This is a thing worth saying, and I want you to carry it home with you. The history of Scotland is of good omen for Ireland ; it is the attempt to break up the Union which is now the ruin of your country. When this endeavour has failed, when all this futile agitation has come to an end, when the Union has become fixed, firm, and irrevocable, then we may hope to see, we may confidently expect, a new great outburst of Irish genius.

Do not suppose that I blink the fact that the day must come, not to Ireland only, but to Scotland also, and to England, when the individual greatness of the parts of our common country must be not lost, but merged, in the greater greatness of the whole land. But this moral union of the whole nation will be produced, if we do our duty, not by ignoring the special genius of each part of the United Kingdom, but by combining the special gifts of each for the common service of the whole nation. This kind of combination, which injures none and benefits all, is no impossibility ; it is no idle dream ; it would take place to a great extent at once were we not divided by the intrigues of politicians and of agitators. In one part of the world at any rate it exists already. In India we all recognize the fact that we are each and all members of one great nation. Go to India, and ask who have been the makers or rulers of the empire. You will be told the names of Clive and Hastings, of Campbell and Dalhousie, of Havelock and of Lawrence, and of scores more. No one will ask whether these heroes came from London, from Edinburgh, or from Dublin ; it matters nothing to what part of the United Kingdom they belonged ; all that we care to know is that they were each and all great men and noble citizens sent out by a noble country to do a great work of civilization.



This is the kind of thought that we Unionists should keep in mind. We should claim—the claim is a bold one, but it is true—that we are the great National party, and that we only are entitled to the name of Nationalists. This name, alas ! like many other things, has been stolen from us by men who have no claim to it whatever, for there is nothing for which they care so little as the nation. These false Nationalists have torn the country apart ; we, the true Nationalists, are drawing the country together ; the work is one in which it is impossible but that we should succeed ; if we fail to-day, we shall succeed to-morrow.

But now I am going boldly to make another claim. The Unionists, I assert, are the true democrats. For party names we need care nothing. I will reach out my hand to any man, be he Catholic or Protestant, Tory or Whig, Radical or Republican, if you like, so that he be an honest man, and willing to stand side by side with us in defence of the unity of the nation. All these names are, I say, nothing to me. We are Conservatives, because we want to preserve all that is good in the institutions we have inherited from past times ; we are Liberals, because we are convinced that liberty, true personal freedom, is the source of progress. We are—I say it for myself and I say it for you—true democrats. It is clear that concessions, and very wide concessions—any concession, in fact, which does not involve injustice, ought to be made to the spirit of the age and to the deliberate wish of the nation. Personally I will go somewhat further than this, and say, with one of the wisest and best of French thinkers, that modern democracy is a “providential fact.” Sooner or later universal suffrage will, it is pretty clear, be established in every country of Europe. I am no particular admirer of government simply by counting votes, but I will never quarrel, if I can help it, with the course of things ; for to quarrel with the course of events is to quarrel with the will of God. Thus much I have learnt from the greatest master of the science of politics that Ireland, or for that matter any country of the modern world, has ever produced. I recognize, therefore, as you recognize, the advent of

democratic government. What we desire is not to resist the progress of democracy, but that we should have not a democracy of fools, or of knaves, or of agitators, but a democracy of honest men who attend to their own business, and are true to the State because they are true to themselves. These are no idle generalities; they lead to a practical conclusion which I would gladly force upon your attention. The Gladstonians tell us they are waiting for the verdict of the country; they assuredly seem to wait for it very patiently; they are in no hurry to go before the tribunal to whose decision they are so anxious to appeal. They won't tell us when the appeal is to take place; probably, they don't know. Observe, however, what they are doing at the moment. The one thing they wish to avoid is a clear unbiassed answer to the one plain question, Does the country wish for Home Rule? They are confusing the issue; they are bribing the judge; they are packing the jury; and, when all these things are done, then, trembling and quaking, they are going to ask for the verdict of the country. But we stand in a very different position. I have no authority to speak for others—I speak for myself alone—but I verily believe that I utter the thoughts of thousands of honest men. We appeal from party to the nation. A faction is trying to mislead the nation, a faction is trying to triumph over the nation, and to the nation we confidently appeal. To the nation, if we had our will, we would appeal to-morrow. We know nothing of delay; we know nothing of hesitation. I don't hesitate, you don't hesitate—my friend, Mr Russell, who is sitting before me, does not hesitate—to go now at once to the people of the United Kingdom, and ask them whether they will or will not have Home Rule. Demand, then, and agitate for one thing, the dissolution, and the speedy dissolution, of a Parliament unworthy to represent the nation. This we demand in a way which cannot be mistaken; but we require something more: we demand that there be only a single issue laid before the nation. Until this demand is conceded, it matters not how many majorities the Gladstonians scrape together. Till we



have obtained a verdict, a clear unmistakable verdict on the one great question of Union or Separation, the House of Lords will do its plain duty in saying: "Before your Home Rule Bill passes you must again go to the nation."

So far I have spoken of the demands which are made or ought to be made by the whole Unionist party. But now, for a moment, let me speak of a policy which I may in one sense call my own, but which I am assured will soon become your policy. I advise you to adjure the House of Lords, even at the very worst, even if they are brought face to face with a parliamentary majority three times as large as this miserable majority of Mr. Gladstone's, to insist that, before the Union is broken up, before any Home Rule Bill passes into law, there shall be submitted to the people themselves this plain simple question: Will you have, or will you not have, this Bill which the Government has offered to you? This is a system well known to true democracies. This definite appeal to a popular vote for the ratification of a law affecting the constitution is what is called abroad the Referendum. When such an appeal—such a reference—to the nation is made, then, and then alone, we shall hear the true voice of the nation. The Gladstonians dare not put to the people the plain question: Will you have this definite scheme of Home Rule? They dare not, because they know what would be the answer. If the question is put as a simple, plain issue, there are hundreds of loyal, quiet, peaceable men who will throw aside party connexion and say, "We will not have Home Rule." The Gladstonians, who dare not put this question, these friends of the people, these men who think the judgment of the masses so much sounder than that of the classes, will tell you that the question is too complicated for the electors to answer. Were the assertion true, it would be a fatal objection to the Gladstonian scheme of submitting to the electors this question, which is already too complicated for them to understand, mixed up with a lot of other questions of at least equal complication. But the assertion is not true. Measures at least as complicated as any Home Rule Bill are submitted to

the decision of the people of Switzerland and the people of New York. Are you inferior to the Swiss? are you inferior to the Americans? Are your judgments more likely than theirs to be confused when a plain, unmistakable, broad question of constitutional policy is submitted to your decision?

Your paramount duty, at any rate, is to fight the matter out; to see that this high controversy, on which is involved the existence of the nation, is decided finally, not by the manœuvres of a party, but by the unmistakable judgment of the nation. You must throw your whole heart into the contest. Bear ever in your minds the words of a Puritan general who, when he rode along the line of battle, kept repeating to his soldiers, "Pray heartily, fight heartily." What I ask you to do is to throw your whole soul, and mind, and energy into the conflict. Do not rely upon any external help. Remember that everything depends upon our own personal exertions, and more upon the exertions of you Irishmen, than upon the efforts of anyone else. Once show that the cause of Home Rule is failing in Ireland, and it will collapse in England. If I may venture to speak as an outside critic, there are parts of Ireland in which you Unionists hardly seem to have realized either the fulness of your rights or the full weight of your duties as citizens. We must work for our cause; we must labour for it night and day. In this matter we, all of us, have fallen short. Our leaders indeed have nobly played their part. Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, and that revered leader now lost to us, that truly grand old man who never made rhetorical capital out of his age—John Bright—have each and all done their duty. But we, the rank and file, have certainly not as yet done our duty. We might each and all of us have done more than we have done. Except my friend Mr. Russell, if among the rank and file he will allow me to count him, I hardly know a man who has conspicuously, undoubtedly, I might almost say heroically, done in this matter everything that man can do. We must exert ourselves with redoubled energy; we must make this public concern as much our interest



as if it were our private affair. Then I say again, "Pray heartily, fight heartily." You will say that I have wandered into a kind of religion rather than politics. I cannot separate the two. Fervour of feeling is essential to vigour of action. You will never triumph unless you make a kind of religion of your politics, or turn your politics into a kind of religion. Then, having done all you can in a just cause, you can appeal to the just aid of Heaven :—

"Thou, whose gifts are might and wisdom, purge from mists my country's eyes ;

Teach her in the hour of trial where alone her safety lies ;

Bid her scorn the shout of faction, bid her spurn the lust of pelf,

Trusting still through good and evil in her God and in herself."

# BOYCOTTING IN SLIGO.

## LETTER FROM A PARISH PRIEST.

To the *Irish Catholic* of October 7th, 1893, Canon MacDermot, brother of Mr. Gladstone's Attorney-General for Ireland, writes the following description of the cruelty of boycotting, as pursued in his own parish of Ballymote, Co. Sligo.

[It should be explained that Canon MacDermot had been taxed by the *Freeman's Journal* of October 2nd, with boycotting a Nationalist meeting held the previous day at Ballymote, and addressed by Mr. Dillon, M.P. It appears, however, from the rev. gentleman's reply that he was himself the boycotted party, and that in consequence of his efforts to check the system of persecution portrayed below he had not received from Mr. Dillon's committee the customary invitation to attend a meeting held in his own parish]

"A man named Fox became bankrupt at the instance (as he told me) of a prominent Nationalist of our town. We are then bound to hold the debt (not rent) was a just one. The Bankruptcy Court—not the landlord—evicted Fox and took up the farm. I fail even now to see how the League laws on boycotting apply to this case.

"After some time the Courts gave up the farm to the landlord in consideration of the rent due to him. The tenant could not hold the farm longer, as he had gone to America. Under the circumstances, I went, accompanied by Fox's wife, to the landlord's office, and obtained for her permission to sell the farm. This she failed to do, though a year's grace was given her. At the end of about a year the land was given by the landlord to a man named Davy. Of course you are to understand I had nothing whatsoever to do with this.

"But to proceed. Davy was soon afterwards boycotted. **Old men on the brink of the grave, weak women, and helpless children—one and all were subjected to the most cruel tyranny because they in the most trifling way associated with Davy.** Their tales to me were piteous in the extreme. At length the vengeance of the boycotter was brought into the very church. Of old the church afforded an asylum even to the murderer. Not so now. Before the altar on which we, Catholics, believe God dwells spiritually and corporally, the boycotter set his victim. **I intervened then; nor am I sorry, even though I brought on me the anger of Messrs. Dillon, Curran, and the organising committee of the Ballymote meeting.**—I remain, yours respectfully,

"JOHN CANON MACDERMOT, D.D., P.P."

The following passage occurs in the *Freeman* report of Mr. John Dillon's speech at the meeting in question :—

"Men of Sligo, I remember an experience of my own in the old days when we were all employed in the wicked practice of boycotting. I believe some of you are at the same work to-day." (Laughter).



# Irishmen Attempt to Haul Down the British Flag.

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(THROUGH DALZIEL'S AGENCY.)

CHICAGO, SUNDAY.

A very serious disturbance arose at Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village at the World's Fair yesterday, when a second attempt was made by Irishmen to pull down the British flag which was floating from the tower of the representation of Blarney Castle in honour of the visit of the Governor-General of Canada. A number of Irishmen gained access to the top of the tower and made an attempt to tear down the flag, because they did not think it ought to be unfurled there. They were, however, prevented by village employes and guards, who drove the offenders midway into the Plaisance. The Irishmen, who were now greatly excited, returned and endeavoured to climb over the fence, but the guards were on the alert and pounced upon the intruders. They summoned the aid of police, who arrived with a patrol wagon. A crowd speedily collected, and it was evident that among the thousands who congregated around the wagon the Irishmen had many sympathisers. The guards and police arrested the disturbers and quickly lodged them in the wagon, but no sooner had they placed them in the vehicle than a number of persons who had been shouting and threatening during the proceedings set three of them at liberty. The ringleaders were eventually taken prisoners after a conflict with the guards and police.

The Earl of Aberdeen and his private secretary arrived in the village after the trouble had ended, and his Excellency expressed great concern at the incident.—*Irish Times*, October 23rd, 1893.

From this incident you may form an opinion as to how the British flag would be treated in Ireland under Home Rule !

# HOME RULERS AT HOME, 1893.

The adjournment of Parliament after the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords took place on September 22nd, 1893. It was doubtless supposed by English Gladstonians that on the return of the Irish Nationalist M.P.'s to meet their constituents a fierce agitation against the House of Lords would at once be organized throughout Ireland.

The arrival of the M.P.'s was indeed the signal for the commencement of a vigorous campaign; but it was not a campaign against the House of Lords.

On the very day of the adjournment of Parliament, at Sept. 22nd. a village called Freemount, near Kanturk, Mr. J. C.

FLYNN, M.P. for North Cork, addressed a meeting of his constituents. The burning question to which Mr. Flynn found it necessary to address himself was the controversy over

## THE PARIS FUNDS,

which had already been for some time raging in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal* between the two sections (Healyite and Dillonite) of the M'Carthyite party. The Dillonite section, to which Mr. Flynn belongs, has a majority in the Committee of Nine, by which the M'Carthyite party is governed—a fact which Mr. Flynn probably bore in mind when he suggested to his constituents that the

## MINORITY SHOULD RESIGN.

His hearers seem to have taken the same view. But Sept. 24th. another Dillonite representative, Mr. MANDEVILLE, M.P. for South Tipperary, was less fortunate, for a meeting of his constituents, at which Father Humphreys (of New Tipperary celebrity) presided, passed a

## VOTE OF CENSURE

against Mr. Mandeville for having supported a vote of confidence in Mr. M'Carthy and the Committee.

Next day Messrs. WILLIAM O'BRIEN and Sept. 25th. MAURICE HEALY, M.P.'s for Cork City, visited their constituency together, under protection of a strong force of police. Mr. O'Brien, according to the *Independent*, was

## VIGOROUSLY HISSED

as he proceeded through the town. At the meeting Mr. O'Brien created a scene by naming a number of his colleagues who, he said, were above suspicion of traitorous conduct, and *pointedly omitting Mr. T. M. Healy's name*, even after it had been called out to him, though a similar suggestion of his own name was of course acknowledged. Next day he harangued a deputation

Sept. 26th of evicted tenants, mainly on the subject of the Paris Funds and the insubordinate conduct of the "minority" in the party.

Sept. 27th. But the next day brought

## TIM HEALY'S TURN,

when a meeting of the Irish National Federation was held in



Rutland Square, Dublin. Here "Tim" denounced O'Brien for endeavouring to convey false impressions, which he had not the courage to express in distinct language. Tim's speech was the signal for a general uproar, in which Messrs. T. D. SULLIVAN, CRILLY, CONDON, and JORDAN, M.P.'s, took part. Mr. T. Condon, M.P., distinguished himself by a bitter attack on Mr. Healy, who, he said, had in May, 1893, threatened a meeting of his colleagues that unless a certain resolution was carried *he would wreck the party.*

**"IT IS AN INFAMOUS LIE!"**

shouted Mr. Healy. And matters waxed so hot that Dr. TANNER, M.P., actually threatened to leave the room unless better manners prevailed.

Yet, curiously enough, no fewer than thirty-six of these M'Carthyite members had met in that same room on the previous day (Sept. 26th) and passed a *unanimous resolution* denouncing

**MR. GLADSTONE'S LORD CHANCELLOR,**

the Right Hon. Samuel Walker, for not more rapidly packing the Irish Bench with M'Carthyite magistrates!

Mr. J. F. HOGAN, Dillonite M.P., was meantime engaged in the delicate operation of obtaining a vote of confidence from his constituents in Mid-Tipperary. In that county Father Humphreys (the noted priest of the New Tipperary agitation) had already carried a vote of censure on the representative of the Southern Division; and he now crossed over into the adjoining constituency to confront Mr. Hogan. There are two conflicting versions of the proceedings at Mr. Hogan's meeting, which was held at Templemore on September 27th. According to

**THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL"**

of September 29th, Mr. Hogan received a vote of confidence, after delivering a spirited speech in support of Mr. Dillon. But the prestige of Mr. Hogan's victory was somewhat damaged by a letter from Father Humphreys, which (having been at first suppressed by the *Freeman's Journal*) was read aloud at Mr. Barry's meeting and published as part of the proceedings thereof in the *Freeman* of October 3rd.

**FATHER HUMPHREYS**

there states that Mr. Hogan's printed speech was merely handed in manuscript to the reporter, and that Mr. Hogan delivered a different speech to his constituents, *omitting the references to Mr. Dillon*, which, according to the printed report, evoked *loud cheers*. It must, however, be added that some of Mr. Dillon's admirers in Templemore next day pretty bluntly

**GAVE THE LIE**

to Father Humphreys. But, on the other hand, Mr. Hogan's subsequent conduct rather tends to corroborate the priestly version. On September 29th he received a deputation of his constituents at Roscrea, who complained to him that Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien were "disgusting the best men of Ireland, and causing confusion and disorganisation everywhere." Yet Mr. Hogan, instead of

defending his leader this time, took refuge in the announcement that he (Mr. Hogan) "was

**NEITHER A DILLONITE NOR A HEALYITE**, but hoped that matters seemed to his constituents worse than they were."

Meantime the two Healyite Members for Co. Cavan, Sept. 28th. Messrs. KNOX and YOUNG, addressed a joint meeting of their constituents at Kilnaleck, where resolutions were passed demanding the release of the dynamitards and the restoration of the evicted tenants, and denouncing Lord Chancellor Walker, whom Mr. Knox, M.P., pronounced "worse than an old Whig." Mr. DAVITT was to have spoken at this meeting, but his name had been withdrawn. It was now scarcely possible for Dillonite and Healyite to meet on one platform.

Oct. 1st. On Sunday, October 1st,

**MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN**

addressed a meeting at Westport, Co. Mayo. Mr. O'Brien's remarks occupy three columns of the *Freeman's Journal* (Oct. 2nd), made up as follows:—

- (1.) Two columns—denunciation of Mr. Healy.
- (2.) One column (less 7 lines)—incitement to agrarian agitation.
- (3.) Seven lines—about the House of Lords and the Home Rule Bill.

On the same day Mr. JOHN DILLON spoke at Ballymote, Co. Sligo, and occupied a column and a quarter of print with

**ABUSE OF TIM HEALY,**

before touching on the Parnellites, landlords, grabbers, bailiffs, emergency men, policemen, and other obnoxious persons. Nine-tenths of Mr. Dillon's lengthy oration had been delivered before it occurred to him to mention the House of Lords, and then it was in connection with some talk about a "Tenants' Reinstatement Bill,"—not the Home Rule Bill. A resolution denouncing the prosecution of boycotting as discreditable to Mr. Morley's administration was unanimously passed.

But if the Dillon-O'Brienites had the field to themselves on Sunday, matters wore a different complexion on the Monday, when Mr. JOHN BARRY, M.P. for South Co. Wexford, met his constituents in public convention, and announced his fixed resolve to retire from public life, as a mark of his disgust at the "persistent action of

**TWO MEN GRASPING FOR POWER,"**

one of whom, he said, was blinded by vanity, and the other deficient in common sense. Mr. Barry plunged at once into a vigorous indictment of the system of "Bossism," which, he said, Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien had introduced into the party. He charged them with

- (1.) Slighting the Party's decision to depose Parnell, and negotiating separately with Parnell themselves.
- (2.) Displaying hostility to the *National Press*, the organ of the M'Carthyite Party.



- (3.) Recklessly throwing away £70,000 on *New Tipperary*.
- (4.) Disobeying the Party's express decision in the matter of the *Freeman* Directorate.
- (5.) Making use of their position in the Parliamentary Committee to force themselves on the Directorate of the *Freeman*.
- (6.) Endeavouring to oust Mr. M'Carthy from the chair in favour of one of themselves.
- (7.) Wanting to give the Parnellites fifteen seats at the General Election.
- (8.) Throttling freedom of discussion in the *Freeman's Journal*.
- (9.) Systematically preventing consultations and meetings of the party.
- (10.) Interference to stop litigation, which promised to be successful, over the Paris Funds.
- (11.) Secret negotiations with the Parnellites for a portion of said funds.
- (12.) Forbidding freedom of election, with a view to thrusting their own nominees on constituencies, as in the cases of North-East Cork and West Mayo.

*N.B.—A vote expressing approval of Mr. Barry's attitude was unanimously carried.*

This speech, it need hardly be said, gave a new stimulus to the furious discussion already raging. At Newport (Mayo) Mr. William O'Brien denounced "the

#### **CONTEMPTIBLE CALUMNIES**

Oct. 4th. which Mr. Barry thought fit to indulge in." Uproarious meetings were held by several branches of the "National Federation," at two of which (held in Dublin on the 4th and 5th October) the hostile sections are reported to have nearly come to blows, while a third (also held in Dublin on October 19th) is stated by the *Independent* of next day to have resolved itself into a free fight. Resolutions "heartily condemning the system which Mr. Barry describes as bossism" were carried by many Federation branches, as well as by boards of guardians, and at public meetings, &c. Most of the M.P.'s who addressed their constituents during the next few days—we may instance Messrs. CURRAN (at Collooney, Co. Sligo, October 3rd); AUSTIN (at Askeaton, Co. Limerick, October 5th); and P. J. O'BRIEN (at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, October 5th)—do not appear, from the reports in the *Freeman's Journal*, to have even mentioned the House of Lords. At Nenagh the only resolution passed dealt with the Paris Funds. At Tubbercurry (where Mr. Curran addressed his constituents on October 8th) four resolutions were passed, including a demand for the release of the dynamitards, but not one touching on the House of Lords. It is certain that to whatever conclusion these countless disputes may tend, Ireland's present grievance is not against the Assembly which rejected the Home Rule Bill.

# MR. MORLEY'S METHODS.



The object of this leaflet is to give the reader an idea of some of the shifts to which Mr. Morley is driven in his attempts to administer the government of Ireland without appearing to resort to methods which he formerly denounced as "Coercion."

Like most of his predecessors in the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Morley finds himself confronted with a widespread demoralisation of the jury system. This is seen at its worst in the more lawless districts of the south and west, particularly in Clare and Kerry. Indeed, while throughout the whole of the south of Ireland a great proportion of the jurors show themselves afraid to convict for agrarian offences, in Clare this demoralisation would seem to be practically universal.

There are, however, two weapons by which the Crown can to some extent combat this system of terrorism in the jury box. There is, firstly, the power of changing the venue, or place of trial, to a less disturbed district; and there is, secondly, the right of ordering jurors to stand aside when the law officers of the Crown have reason to doubt their trustworthiness:

The place of trial can be changed either *directly*, under a provision of Mr. Balfour's Crimes Act, or *indirectly*, by trying political offenders at the Winter Assizes, which are held at specified centres for each province, instead of separately at all the county towns.

How Mr. Morley distinguished himself when out of office by his denunciation of these "coercive" methods is sufficiently well known. How he began his Ministerial term with a resolute effort to dispense with them has also been pointed out in some of the early leaflets of this series.

Thus, at the Clare Spring Assize, 1893, a number of agrarian cases (which under Mr. Balfour's régime would have been sent elsewhere) were presented for trial at Ennis. At the close of the Assize, on March 1st, Mr. Justice O'Brien (a Catholic judge appointed by Mr. Gladstone) declared the result to be that "no security any longer existed for property, person, or life in the County Clare. Every appeal to the reason, conscience, self-respect, and



sense of moral obligation of the jurors had been made without the least result" (*Irish Times*, March 2nd, 1893).

Again, at the following Summer Assize for the same county, seventeen prisoners were tried on July 4th and 5th for offences of an agrarian character, with the result that not one conviction was obtained. In cases in which the Judge informed the jury that there was "conclusive evidence against the prisoners," unanimous verdicts of "Not Guilty" were stubbornly returned. Mr. Justice Gibson pronounced the travesty of justice "perfectly melancholy" (*Daily Express*, July 6th, 1893).

Such were the results of Mr. Morley's first attitude as an "Anti-Coercion" Minister.

On July 7th Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., raised a discussion in Parliament on the failure of justice at the Clare Assizes. Mr. Morley, in his reply, admitted the disgraceful state of County Clare, and stated that if he believed change of venue to be an efficacious remedy he would resort to it. He thus, it will be observed, based his continued refusal to change the venue solely on a professed disbelief in the usefulness of that course.

It is curious, however, that while the direct change of venue under Mr. Balfour's Act was still avoided, solely because Mr. Morley did not believe in it being a true remedy, the indirect change of venue (as far as Clare and Kerry were concerned) was brought into vigorous play at the ensuing Winter Assizes, when a large number of cases from these disturbed counties were produced for trial at Cork.

At Cork the spirit of disaffection among the jurors was not so universally dominant as in Clare. But one of the first cases brought forward at the Assize, which opened on December 5th, gave Mr. Morley's law officers a sharp reminder of the existence of such a spirit even in the comparatively peaceful county.

Two men, named Kenny and Cullinan, who had been twice tried without result by Kerry juries, were put on trial on December 7th, and charged with a moonlighting outrage. The defence was an *alibi*. The principal witness was a sister of the prisoner Cullinan's, who created considerable sensation by swearing what she *had denied at the former hearing* in Kerry, viz., that at the time of the outrage her brother was at home playing cards. Judge O'Brien at the first hearing had complimented this girl on her conscientious refusal to perjure herself even to save her brother. He was again the presiding judge when she contradicted her former evidence, and described the exhibition as "the most dreadful example he had yet seen of the state of things prevailing in Kerry." *The jury disagreed* — a result commented upon by his Lordship as "a most shameful example of the failure of the law."

After this decisive check, Mr. Morley's law officers fell back upon the remaining power, for the exercise of which Mr. Balfour's administration had been so sweepingly denounced, viz., the *challenging of distrusted jurors*.

The following notes, taken from reports in the *Freeman* and *Independent* newspapers, will illustrate the length to which the Crown now thought fit to proceed :—

- (a.) On December 11th Denis Keane was put on trial and charged with a Whiteboy offence in the County Kerry. Sixteen Catholic and Nationalist jurors were ordered by the Crown to "stand aside." The prisoner was convicted, and sentenced to five years penal servitude.
- (b.) On December 12th James Morey was put on trial and charged with shooting at Mr. Weldon Molony, a land agent, in the County Clare. Out of the 74 jurors who answered their names, 41, all said to be Catholics, were ordered to "stand aside." The prisoner was convicted, and sentenced to 20 years penal servitude.
- (c.) On December 15th William Sweeney was put on trial and charged with an agrarian shooting outrage in the County Cork. Twenty-nine Catholic jurors were ordered to "stand aside." The prisoner was convicted, and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment with hard labour.
- (d.) On January 9th, 1894,\* Thomas Guane, Patrick and James Mungovan, and Anthony Linane were put on trial and charged with a Whiteboy offence in the County Clare. Seventeen jurors, all Catholics and Home Rulers, were ordered to "stand aside." Two of the prisoners were convicted and sentenced each to 12 months imprisonment with hard labour.
- (e.) On January 11th James Hartigan and Michael Brennan were put on trial charged with a Whiteboy offence in the County Clare. Out of 53 jurors who answered, 25, all Catholics and Home Rulers, were ordered to "stand aside." The prisoners were convicted and sentenced—Brennan to 3 years penal servitude, and Hartigan to 12 months imprisonment with hard labour.

It will thus be seen that in order to obtain five reliable juries, Mr. Morley's officers had to order aside no fewer than 128 jurors belonging to their own political party in the place of trial to which they had themselves transferred the cases with a view to securing comparatively fair juries.

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\*The Assizes having been adjourned for three weeks.



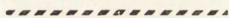
It was not to be expected that the Irish Nationalists would allow these proceedings to pass without challenge. Both sections of the Party protested loudly, and Mr. Sexton, M.P., on December 18th, demanded of the Government the immediate issue of an order in prohibition of Jury-packing." Mr. Bryce, M.P., in Mr. Morley's absence, declined to promise any such order. But the inconsistency of this policy with Mr. Morley's previous denunciations of what he had called "jury-packing in its most aggravated form" was glaring, and placed the Government at a manifest disadvantage. It is instructive to note how they endeavoured to escape the dilemma in which they found themselves caught.

Throughout the whole month, during which the Winter Assize was in progress, and the so-called "packing" in force, Mr. Morley and his colleagues fenced with the question and could not be persuaded to interfere. But on January 12th, *the day before the Assize concluded, Mr. Morley changed his tone*, and informed Mr. Sexton that he was preparing a new rule which would be ready in *two or three days*.

If this means anything, it means that having kept the "packing" system in full swing for weeks, having landed his prisoners safely in their respective dungeons to work out terms of punishment varying from twelve months to twenty years, having, in short, gained everything from the firmness of his law officers that he could hope to gain until the expiry of another twelvemonth, Mr. Morley now aims at re-establishing the reputation of his Government for consistently carrying on the administration of Ireland in accordance with Irish ideas!

But the practical working of his administration as above delineated shows conclusively that in the opinion of Mr. Morley himself the Government of Ireland by Irish Nationalist ideas is not reconcilable with the idea of good government.

# THE TRUTH ABOUT PROTESTANT ASCENDENCY.



Home Rulers are fond of raising the cry that, under the Union, Irish Roman Catholics are treated with great unfairness. We are told, for instance, that invidious preference is shown to the Protestant and Unionist section of the community (*a*) in appointments to the Magistracy, (*b*) in the composition of Juries, and (*c*) in the endowment of Education.

Now, all these are matters in which, without need for any legislative enactment, the Ministry of the day has the discretionary power to remove the so-called grievances principally complained of. But when we come to look at the acts of Mr. Gladstone's Irish administration, we find under every one of the above-mentioned heads **the same distrust of the Roman Catholic and Nationalist majority** as, when shown by Unionists, is denounced under the name of Protestant Intolerance.

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## THE MAGISTRACY.

No doubt a great majority of the Irish magistrates are Protestants: a still greater majority are Unionists. If a sufficient number of properly qualified persons were found among the ranks of the Nationalists, we may be sure that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues would be only too delighted to redress the inequality. In fact, they had only been a month in office when the public learned (on the authority of Mr. Michael Davitt) that it was the intention of the Government to "create throughout the country a good number of magistrates representing popular feeling." This was in September, 1892. All that was necessary was to find the properly qualified persons, and for this purpose Mr. Davitt, and doubtless many of his colleagues, would appear to have been deputed to institute careful research.

As one instance of their success in the prosecution of this design, we may take the case of the County Longford—in reference to



which we find that on the 8th of October, 1893, fourteen months after Mr. Gladstone's return to office, the "Scrabby and Mullinalta Branch of the Irish National Federation" resolved :—

"That we join with the members of the Longford Branch in denouncing the insult offered by the Whig Chancellor Walker to the National sentiment of the County Longford, in **adding three more names to the long list of sixty-three Unionist and Tory magistrates** who already grace (or disgrace) the magisterial bench of the county, while there is **not a single Nationalist J.P.** in the entire county; and we say that if such appointments are to be repeated it will soon become a question for the Irish Party how long they can continue to support the so-called Liberal Government that will thus venture to outrage public feeling."—*Irish Catholic*, October 14th, 1893.

Thus we see that after fourteen months' research the Government had not only failed to discover one eligible Nationalist in the County Longford, but found itself compelled to strengthen the Bench by the creation of additional Unionist magistrates.

That their experience in other counties was not very different is proved by many similar resolutions, including a vote of censure on the Lord Chancellor for his failure to appoint Nationalist magistrates passed at a meeting attended by thirty-six M·Carthyite members of Parliament, held in Dublin on the 26th of September. See the *Freeman's Journal*, September 27th, 1893.

### JURIES.

Another of the so-called weapons of "Protestant Ascendency," according to the Home Rulers, has been the Crown's right of challenging jurors in criminal prosecutions. The Law Officers of the Crown were constantly charged under Unionist Administrations with ordering large numbers of Catholics to stand aside, thereby, it was argued, insulting the religion of the majority by casting the imputation of untrustworthiness on those who profess it.

Do we, then, find that Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, and the Law Officers of the Home Rule Government show that confidence in Catholic jurors which they condemned Mr. Balfour's Government for not showing?

We extract the following from the *Irish Daily Independent* of December 14th, 1893 :—

#### CATHOLICS "STAND BY."

#### STRANGE ACTION OF THE CROWN IN CORK.

Cork, Wednesday.

The action of the Crown legal authorities in the two agrarian cases that have been tried at the present Winter Assizes in this

city is the subject of general comment here, and the cause of widespread indignation amongst the Catholic population. On yesterday, when the Moloney shooting case was called, it was plain to everybody in court that as far as it was possible Catholics should be prevented from serving on the jury. Seventy-four jurors answered to their names, and of these forty-one, or more than half, were ordered to "stand by" without the smallest hesitation on the part of the representatives of the Crown. In fact, it was apparent to all in court that the possession of a Catholic name was a sufficient ground for telling a man plainly that he could not be trusted to observe his solemn oath. . . . This is what the Union of Hearts is already coming to.

In reference to the above, Mr. Sexton, M.P., demanded in the House of Commons (December 18th) that instructions should be issued by the Government forbidding challenges on religious grounds. Mr. Bryce, after a wrangle of some length, declined to give the assurance asked for; and displays of "jury-packing," similar to those commented upon, continued to occur until the conclusion of the Winter Assize.

It is clear that it would be strongly for the political advantage of the Government to prove, if they can do so, that they are able to trust the Catholic jurors as implicitly as the Protestants. Their refusal, therefore, to satisfy Mr. Sexton makes it abundantly evident that Liberal Ministers are conscious of distrusting the Catholic jurors at least as much as did Mr. Balfour's colleagues.

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### EDUCATION.

A third form of the "Protestant Ascendancy" myth is the statement that Roman Catholics are unfairly dealt with in the distribution of Educational Grants. And to this it may be answered that, whatever view be taken of the actual merits of the question, the policy of Mr. Gladstone's present Cabinet distinctly shows that the leaders of the Liberal Party regard the Roman Catholic claims as exorbitant and inadmissible.

The opening of the year 1894 finds the Government in direct conflict with a large number of Boards of Town Commissioners throughout Ireland on the question of the enforcement of the compulsory provisions of the Education Act of 1892. The basis of the quarrel is Mr. Morley's refusal to include the schools of the Christian Brothers (a powerful Roman Catholic Religious Order) within the benefits of the Parliamentary Grant, in consequence of which many of the local Boards have refused to take any steps whatever towards putting the Act in force. Mr. Bryce, M.P., informed the House of Commons (December 4th, 1893) that in the cases of twenty Boards of Town Commissioners the Commissioners of National Education had received either refusals or no replies to their letters on the subject. One Board "had not yet



replied to any of the ten communications addressed to it." Important public meetings have also been held, as at Limerick (October 20th) and Nenagh (November 21st), supporting the local Boards in their refusal. At the former meeting Bishop Dwyer, of Limerick—one of the most moderate of the Roman Catholic prelates—made the significant declaration that unless the Christian Brothers' claims were admitted "no matter what Governmental authority might be used to put the Act in force it would prove an utter failure."—*Daily Independent*, October 21st.

The event seems likely to justify the Bishop's prediction.

As the Government has hitherto remained obdurate, Mr. Sexton, on behalf of the Clerical Party, has given notice of opposition (*Times*, December 5th) to some supplementary legislation which is necessary to the effective operation of the clauses. This means that until Ministers choose to give way it will be impossible to put the Act in operation **in any part of Ireland**—so that Dublin and other important centres where the local authorities are anxious to have it in force must lose the benefit.

Nevertheless, in the face of this grave situation, the Liberal Government still (January, 1894) holds out against the claim of the Roman Catholics. Could a Liberal Ministry give stronger proof of their conviction that something more than "equality" is comprised within that claim?

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In conclusion, the reader of this leaflet is asked to consider how Liberals can consistently vote to entrust the whole government of Ireland to a party amongst whom even Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues find it next to impossible to discover trustworthy magistrates, trustworthy jurors, or trustworthy educators of youth.

# THE IRISH UNIONIST PARTY.

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We are sometimes told that the Irish Unionist Party consists entirely of landlords and Orangemen. Even if this were true it would be wise to hear what they have got to tell us, for Ireland has many good friends among those somewhat unpopular classes. How much more ought we to consider what Irish Unionists say when we know that the Irish Unionist Party includes not only landlords and Orangemen, but merchants, tradesmen, railway managers, and farmers of all religious denominations. Thousands of Irish Catholics are as completely opposed to Home Rule as any of the Protestants.

When the Home Rule Bill was introduced into Parliament in the spring of 1893 it caused so much alarm among the trading classes in Ireland that they resolved to send a deputation of merchants and business men to London to explain to the leaders of the political parties there the fears which the Home Rule Bill was exciting. Sixty men engaged in trade and business were chosen to be a deputation from the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, another deputation being sent from Ulster.

The English Home Rulers refused to see them, but they had an interview with some of the English Unionists.

The following extracts from some of their speeches are taken from the *Irish Times* of March 16th, 1893. Lord Iveagh, once Mr. Guinness, the head of the Guinness' Brewery in Dublin, said :—

We protest against this Bill because our experience and knowledge of the country teaches us that it would be fatal to Irish trade and commerce, because it would inevitably draw capital from our shores, and throw many of our workingmen out of employment.



Alderman Sir John Scott, Iron and Coal Merchant, and Steamship owner, of Cork, said :—

What we want is quiet, and rest and protection to pursue our various avocations. We want no ascendancy, and the opposition to the Bill does not come from any particular sect or class in the community. The Bill now before Parliament is called a Home Rule Bill, it had better be called a Home Ruin Bill, for it means nothing but ruin to the industries of this country. During recent years, under the protection given by Mr. Balfour, we have been able to revive many industries, which for years were idle. Many mills are now at work, which have not turned a wheel for years. But since the Bill has come before the country, a condition of unrest has crept in which will certainly result in some of those industries being stopped, capital will leave the country, people will be turned adrift, and poverty will reign.

Mr. Gray, Chairman of the Great Northern Railway Company, said :—

It must be admitted that railways in Ireland have done immense good to the country, and to the trading community, and we feel that if the smallest idea had prevailed that any such changes as are now proposed in the legislative arrangements between the two countries would take place the money would not have been raised for the construction of the railways. We believe that if this Bill should pass into law it would produce irreparable ruin, disaster and confusion to every interest in Ireland.

It was not only on this one occasion in London that Irish merchants and tradesmen have expressed their fear of Home Rule. In every part of Ireland meetings have been held, and men connected with trade, with manufactures, and with railways have declared again and again that Home Rule will ruin the undertakings in which they are engaged, and will force them and the workmen they employ to leave their homes and seek a living in another country.

Under Home Rule the fate of the farmers would not be happier than that of the merchants, as many of them know well.

Mr. Patrick Cody, a farmer of Thurles, says in a letter to the *Irish Times*, April 4th, 1893 :—

There is not one solvent man of my class that I know who is in favour of this Bill. At fairs and markets one hears nothing but words of dread about it. No one dare hold a meeting in favour of the Bill in the town of Thurles.

Mr. David Magee, a farmer of Killeshandra, Co. Cavan, also writing to the newspaper, says :—

Speaking as a farmer, and on behalf of men similarly situated, I assert that the Home Rule Bill means destruction to us, for while the landlords and merchants who dread heavy taxation can and will leave our country, we, farmers, who have our all invested in the land, cannot do so, but must remain to be fleeced by those agitators who have no other ability beyond that which they displayed in the erection of New Tipperary, and the rise and fall of the Plan of Campaign.

It is a well known fact that almost all Protestant Irishmen are opposed to Home Rule, but some people imagine that all Catholic Irishmen are in favour of it. Here are a few extracts from the speeches of Irish Catholics which show how many of them feel on the subject.

Mr. Daniel O'Connell, son of the "Liberator," says :—

I am a Unionist for the simplest of reasons, namely—that I think Home Rule, if carried, would be most disastrous to Ireland. (See *Kent Coast Times*, April, 1893).

The Earl of Fingall, the Premier Catholic Peer of Ireland, said, addressing a meeting in the Leinster Hall, Dublin :—

I prefer to follow the simple instincts of an inherited faith rather than the guidance of even such an intellectual giant as Mr. Gladstone, and thus I come by the belief that the Catholic religion is better safeguarded under the Imperial Parliament than it would be under any form of Home Rule Government which Mr. Gladstone can devise.—  
*Irish Times*, 24th June, 1892.



Colonel Dease, a Catholic, and formerly Governor of the Bank of Ireland, says :—

The passing of the Home Rule Bill would sound the death-knell of Irish prosperity, which is steadily increasing, and is only retarded by agitation or want of security of capital.—*Irish Times*, 13th March, 1892.

It will be seen from the speeches, of which only short extracts can be given here, that the Irish Unionist Party is not a small body of men belonging to one class or to one religious denomination. Among its members are men of all creeds, classes, and occupations, Catholics and Protestants, Liberals and Conservatives, rich and poor, men who live by trade, men who live by manufactures, men who live by the land. But, though divided in many things, in one they are all united. They are all Irishmen. They believe that a great danger is now threatening Ireland. In the face of that danger they have forgotten former differences and divisions, and united as one man for the protection of their country. They have rendered many services to Ireland. They manage all our most successful business undertakings. They have brought money into the country, and provided work and wages for thousands of poor families.

Let us not disregard their warnings, but remembering that they are Irishmen, and that they wish for nothing more than to serve their country, let us give them a fair and a sympathetic hearing.

# IRISH DEPOPULATION AND ITS REMEDY.

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The population of Ireland is much smaller now than it was fifty years ago. In 1845 there were more than eight million people in Ireland, now there are less than five million, and the decrease still goes on. The population decreases because there is not enough work for the people to do, and what we all have to consider is how more work can be provided.

Some say that this decrease has taken place since the Union, and that if the Union were done away with, and we had Home Rule, work would be found in Ireland for everyone. But during the first forty years of the Union the population increased. It was five million when the Act of Union was passed in 1800. It was eight million in 1845. It is only since 1845 that it has become smaller. Therefore, it is not the Union that has caused the decrease.

There are two reasons why the population of Ireland decreases. The first reason is that farming does not pay so well as it used to do. Not only in Ireland but in England and in many countries on the Continent the population is decreasing in districts where the people have to live by working the land. A great deal of food is now brought from America and Australia where it can be produced more cheaply than in Europe. Also within the last fifty years machinery is much more used in farming work than it used to be, and where machines are used fewer labourers are required.

The second reason why our population decreases is that the people are more prosperous than they were fifty years ago, and they would not be satisfied to live now as people lived then. The people in Ireland at this time have more cows, more sheep, more poultry, more money in the savings banks, and many more schools to send their children to than their parents and grand-parents had fifty years ago. They live in greater comfort than their ancestors did, and they spend more money. If they cannot earn what will keep them in tolerable comfort at home, they go to England, or to some foreign country, where work is more easily obtained.

If our population is to increase the people must either return to the misery of former days, or they must find some new ways of earning money. In the north-east corner of the island new ways of earning money have been found. In and about Belfast the population increases, because the people have linen manufactories and ship building yards which give them employment and bring



them in enough money to live upon. Irish Unionists wish to see the other parts of Ireland as prosperous as the north-eastern counties. They wish to see Limerick as large as Belfast, the people in Kerry as comfortable as the people in Down.

We are sometimes told that this happy change would follow from Home Rule. But who tells us so? Not the manufacturers themselves. The men who have made the prosperity of Belfast, the men who have started and carried out commercial enterprises in other parts of the country, tell us with one voice that those enterprises will be ruined by Home Rule. The Chambers of Commerce of Dublin and Belfast, bodies composed of men who differ widely from each other on questions of politics and religion, agree in this: that whatever else Home Rule may be it will be ruin for the manufacturers and traders of Ireland. Those men speak with great authority. All their time and all their property are devoted to the development of Irish trade and manufacture. We ought not lightly to disregard their warnings. They tell us that if Home Rule comes many of them will be ruined and forced to leave Ireland. If their business is ruined, what will that mean for the poor? It will mean that there will be less work, and more emigration than ever, and that thousands who are now living on wages earned in factories, shops, ship building yards, and railway works, will lose their employment, and will have to choose between leaving Ireland or starving.

If you wish to save Ireland from such misfortunes as these, if you wish to see trade prospering, manufactures increasing, and money coming into the country, so that it can support an increasing population in comfort, do not be led away by vague promises of factories and coal mines, and "work for everybody." Listen to the advice of the men who are starting and carrying on successful Irish undertakings, and do all in your power to support the Union.

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# The Taxpayer under Home Rule.

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*(Reprinted by permission from "Blackwood's Magazine," October, 1893.)*

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The finance of the Government of Ireland Bill ought to be understood by the country. The subject is tiresome, intricate, and repellent, but it is nevertheless capable of being simply stated ; and the object of this short paper is to reduce arguments and calculations to the simplest form, and to state in the fewest words and fewest figures possible what the Government are committed to do, and to examine the reasons they give in justification of a scheme which they themselves admit to be unfair. The scheme before the country is the third for which Mr. Gladstone is responsible. The first, proposed in 1886, was, from the British point of view, bad ; the second, which found a place in the Home Rule Bill as laid before the House of Commons last February, was worse ; and the third, which was engrafted on the bill under Parnellite pressure, is by far the worst of all. A great deal that is curious, and possibly interesting, might be written on the first two proposals, but both of them are as dead as Queen Anne ; and the third alone, being the plan on which Mr. Gladstone must go to the country, is worth attention in detail.

So long as the United Kingdom is one, it is of no practical importance whatever from what part the revenue mainly comes, or in what part it is mainly spent. We are all one people, and the Imperial Parliament imposes equal taxes, and votes money for the



welfare of the people at large. But when one part of the kingdom desires to set up a separate exchequer, and to collect and spend her own taxes, still leaving, however, the Imperial Government to provide for the army, navy, diplomatic service, and service of the debt, a calculation must be made of the amount the separating kingdom ought to pay as her share of these services. To an ordinary mind three courses would be open: (1) to take the population of the two countries, and to say that the Imperial outlay which benefits each individual equally should be divided *per capita*; (2) to take the wealth of the two countries, and assess their respective shares not by population but by wealth; (3) to require the separating country to bear the same share that she had in fact been already contributing. But Mr. Gladstone has evolved a fourth principle—viz., that whatever justice between the two people may seem to require, the Irish must have what satisfies them, and at least must be started with a clear surplus of £500,000 a-year. Calculations have been prepared and issued under the hand of the Gladstonian Secretary to the Treasury, from which the whole of the following figures have been directly taken.

The first table shows the facts as they now exist.

Contributed to revenue by

|                   |     |     |     |     |                    | per cent.        |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|------------------|
| England,          | ... | ... | ... | ... | £78,046,000        | or 80.20         |
| Scotland,         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,409,000         | " 10.70          |
| Ireland,          | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7,644,000          | " 7.85           |
| Imperial sources, | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,216,000          | " 1.25           |
| Total,            | ... | ... | ... | ... | <u>£97,315,000</u> | or <u>100.00</u> |

There is spent on

|                   |     |     |     |     |                    |                  |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|------------------|
| English services, | ... | ... | ... | ... | £26,099,000        | or 26.74         |
| Scottish          | "   | ... | ... | ... | 3,883,000          | " 3.98           |
| Irish             | "   | ... | ... | ... | 5,540,000          | " 5.68           |
| Imperial          | "   | ... | ... | ... | 62,067,000         | " 63.60          |
| Total,            | ... | ... | ... | ... | <u>£97,589,000</u> | or <u>100.00</u> |

The difference between these two sums is the amount each country contributes to the cost of imperial services.

|           |     |     |     |     |                    |    |                    |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|----|--------------------|
| England,  | ... | ... | ... | ... | £51,947,000        | or | per cent.<br>85.76 |
| Scotland, | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,526,000          | „  | 10.77              |
| Ireland,  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,103,000          | „  | 3.47               |
| Total,    | ... | ... | ... | ... | <u>£60,576,000</u> | or | <u>100.00</u>      |

Note must be taken in passing of the advantage Ireland now enjoys, how large a sum is spent on her local wants, and how small a sum she contributes to imperial necessities.

The next point is the system which would have been established had Mr. Gladstone's Bill become law. The postal and telegraph service is still to be maintained at the imperial charge. The Irish receipts from this source are therefore deducted from the gross Irish revenues, as stated above, and the produce of Irish taxes for the purposes of the bill becomes £6,922,000. The great problem is how to divide this sum between the Irish Exchequer, for the purposes of local government, and the Imperial Exchequer for Ireland's share of the services enumerated above. To make any simple calculation on the basis of numbers of wealth would not satisfy Mr. Gladstone's taskmasters. It has therefore been necessary to resort to a complicated scheme, in order to bring out the desired result. The two succeeding tables will show how the calculation is worked out, and how the allotment, first to the Irish and secondly to the Imperial Exchequer, is arrived at.

#### IRISH EXCHEQUER.

|                                                     |     |     |     |                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|
| Total Irish revenue for division,                   | ... | ... | ... | £6,922,000        |
| Deduct whole of revenue from miscellaneous sources, | ... | ... | ... | 138,000           |
|                                                     |     |     |     | <u>£6,784,000</u> |
| Two-thirds of £6,784,000,                           | ... | ... | ... | £4,522,000        |
| Whole of miscellaneous revenue,                     | ... | ... | ... | 138,000           |
| One-third cost of Constabulary, £1,489,000,         | ... | ... | ... | 486,000           |
|                                                     |     |     |     | <u>£5,146,000</u> |
| Actual Irish receipts,                              | ... | ... | ... | £5,146,000        |
| Add Cost of collection of revenue,                  | ... | ... | ... | 224,000           |
|                                                     |     |     |     | <u>£5,370,000</u> |
| Total pecuniary advantages enjoyed by Ireland       | ... | ... | ... | <u>£5,370,000</u> |





if facts do not support it, the whole scheme of finance, and with it the whole bill, falls to the ground. It thus becomes necessary to examine this plea by the test of figures, and to ascertain exactly what is the wealth on each side of the Irish Channel. Accumulated wealth is best shown by the revenue from the death duties, current wealth by the produce of the income-tax, and capacity to spend by the yield of Customs duties imposed on articles superior to the barest necessities of life.

The produce of the death duties in the year ending March 31, 1893, was as follows :—

|               |     |     |     |     |                   | per cent.        |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|------------------|
| From England, | ... | ... | ... | ... | £7,077,000        | or 84.75         |
| „ Scotland,   | ... | ... | ... | ... | 843,000           | „ 10.09          |
| „ Ireland,    | ... | ... | ... | ... | 389,000           | „ 4.66           |
| „ Unspecified | ... | ... | ... | ... | 41,000            | „ 0.50           |
|               |     |     |     |     | <u>£8,350,000</u> | <u>or 100.00</u> |

From this test Ireland is shown to possess proportionally a much smaller amount of accumulated wealth than the sister kingdoms, but still enough to enable her to pay not far short of double the amount provided by the bill.

The yield of income-tax assessment was as follows :—

|                |     |     |     |     |                    | per cent.        |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|------------------|
| From England,  | ... | ... | ... | ... | £11,413,000        | or 84.92         |
| „ Scotland,    | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,292,000          | „ 9.61           |
| „ Ireland,     | ... | ... | ... | ... | 563,000            | „ 4.19           |
| „ Unspecified, | ... | ... | ... | ... | 171,000            | „ 1.28           |
|                |     |     |     |     | <u>£13,439,000</u> | <u>or 100.00</u> |

Here again the revenue derived from Ireland is small in comparison with her population, but enough to justify a far larger contribution than that contemplated by Mr. Gladstone.

These returns, however, indicate almost exclusively the position of the wealthier classes, and it is evident there are many fewer great estates or great revenues in Ireland than in Great Britain. Any facts



which throw any light on the position of the mass of the people who pay no income-tax and little or no succession duty are of even greater importance. The figures already given have been effectively utilised by Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Goschen ; but for the main facts illustrated by the succeeding tables thanks are due to Lord Balfour, whose speech in the House of Lords effectively demonstrated the position that the poverty of the consuming classes in Ireland is not such as to prevent indulgence with ample freedom in taxed luxuries. Tea may be styled mainly the luxury of women, tobacco that of men of all classes, while the use of wine is limited to the well to do. The revenue derived from these sources during the last financial year was as follows :—

## WINE.

|                      |     |     |     |     |               | per cent.     |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|---------------|
| From England,        | ... | ... | ... | ... | £1,083,000 or | 85.41         |
| „ Scotland,          | ... | ... | ... | ... | 84,000 „      | 6.62          |
| „ Ireland,           | ... | ... | ... | ... | 101,000 „     | 7.97          |
| <u>£1,268,000 or</u> |     |     |     |     |               | <u>100.00</u> |

## TEA.

|                      |     |     |     |     |               |               |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|---------------|
| From England,        | ... | ... | ... | ... | £2,587,000 or | 76.09         |
| „ Scotland,          | ... | ... | ... | ... | 336,000 „     | 9.92          |
| „ Ireland,           | ... | ... | ... | ... | 476,000 „     | 13.99         |
| <u>£3,399,000 or</u> |     |     |     |     |               | <u>100.00</u> |

## TOBACCO.

|                       |     |     |     |     |               |               |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|---------------|
| From England,         | ... | ... | ... | ... | £7,593,000 or | 75.00         |
| „ Scotland,           | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,134,000 „   | 11.20         |
| „ Ireland,            | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,397,000 „   | 13.80         |
| <u>£10,124,000 or</u> |     |     |     |     |               | <u>100.00</u> |

In the first case, the proportion consumed by Ireland is more than three times, in the last two cases more than five times, as large as the percentage required from her under the Home Rule Bill. The consumption in both tea and tobacco has become so general that they are perhaps scarcely to be styled luxuries ; but the fact that the Irish can and do indulge in a larger consumption of both per head than is the case in England and Scotland is a striking link in

the chain of evidence, adverse to the theory on which alone the financial clauses can stand, that the people are so dreadfully poor they can only contribute to the common purse one-fifth as much as the taxpayers of England and Scotland. These figures are wholly taken from the returns presented to Parliament for the express purpose of elucidating the Home Rule Bill, and it is curious to discover that while there is great inferiority in accumulated wealth, while that inferiority remains in a smaller degree in the consumption of wine, now a widespread luxury, it wholly disappears when articles of almost universal consumption by all classes are taken as the test.

The position may be summed up as follows :—

|                                                                               |             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Total amount required for imperial services, ... ..                           | £60,576,000 |
| Sum to be provided by Ireland under Mr. Gladstone's scheme, ...               | 1,551,000   |
| Sum which should be provided by Ireland if assessed on the following bases :— |             |

|     |                                                                              |     |     |           |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|
| (a) | Population, 12.49 per cent.,...                                              | ... | ... | 7,565,000 |
| (b) | Wealth, as shown by death duties, 4.66 per cent.,                            | ... | ... | 2,816,000 |
| (c) | " " Income-tax, 4.19 per cent.,                                              | ... | ... | 2,532,000 |
| (d) | " " Customs receipts on wines, 7.97 per cent.,                               | ... | ... | 4,827,000 |
| (e) | " " Customs receipts on tea, 13.99 per cent.,                                | ... | ... | 8,462,000 |
| (f) | " " Customs receipts on tobacco, 13 80 per cent.,                            | ... | ... | 8,353,000 |
| (g) | " " Representation (80 members) in the Imperial Parliament, 12.36 per cent., | ... | ... | 7,490,000 |

It is not for a moment suggested that the division of burden should be based on the Customs revenue; these figures are given only as one evidence that the argument of Ireland's poverty has been driven a great deal too far. Again, to take population as the sole guide would be unfair to the poorer country, were it not indeed that population is adopted as the basis for representation. The foregoing statement brings out in a clear light the gross outrage inflicted on the British people by placing eighty Irishmen in the Westminster Parliament. This will be rejected by the country on



other and higher grounds than finance ; but without trespassing from the narrow limits of this article, it may be asked, "Is it to be endured that Irishmen shall return eighty members, one-eighth of the whole, to share in that proportion not only in the imperial expenditures, to which their constituents contribute not one-eighth but one-fortieth, but also in the internal expenditure of England and Scotland, towards which they contribute nothing at all?" It is a very good thing to be liberal, but it should be remembered that liberality in this case to the people of Ireland who wish for Home Rule means injustice to the people of Great Britain who don't. Let the Irish remain enjoying their full share in the control of the common empire, and more than their share, as at present, in the benefits resulting from the general wealth and industry of the empire ; or if they want to indulge in the pleasures of an independent financial existence, before asking the people of Great Britain to submit to the dangers of a separation of interests, let them show that they both can and will pay their own way

*Note.*—The figures used in this paper are taken exclusively from Papers Nos. 334 and 335, presented to the House of Commons in July, 1893.

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# THE HOUSE OF LORDS

## AND THE

# HOME RULE BILL.



The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.

The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

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## THE LORDS' APPEAL TO THE DEMOCRACY.

"I maintain that this is a question of such magnitude, so closely touching the fundamental institutions of the State, that if there is any object in the existence of a Second Chamber at all it is, at all events, to prevent changes of this character being made without the absolute certainty that they are in accordance with the **WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE**,"—THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, in moving the rejection of the Home Rule Bill, *September 5th*, 1893.

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"Do you really know who the men are who will be placed in power? Our recollections disappear somewhat rapidly in these times; but you know that a large number of them have had their connexion with crime investigated by a Special Commission, and that the exact nature of that connexion has been recorded by Judges of the highest capacity and undoubted integrity, and no shred of evidence has ever been produced to negative the decision that was pronounced. This is the report of the Special Commission:—'We find that the respondents did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effects.' That is the judicial decision, given after months of investigation, and you know that among the leading men who are urging forward this Bill, a large number were respondents in this examination. **THERE WERE 38 MEN, WHOSE NAMES I HAVE HERE, AND WHO ARE NOW MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, UPON WHOSE BROWS THAT CONDEMNATION WAS STAMPED—38 MEN, AND RE-MEMBER, THIS BILL PASSED THE THIRD READING BY 34.**"—THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, Speech in the House of Lords, *September 8th*, 1893.



The Home Rule Bill, forced through the House of Commons by the "Gag" against a great majority of English votes, has now been thrown out by the House of Lords, in order that the constituencies of this country may have the opportunity of deciding upon a measure which was never submitted to their judgment, and the principle of which, so far as England is concerned, was decisively rejected at the last Election.

The House of Lords has therefore acted in accordance with true democratic principles, and in defence of the taxpayers of England, by refusing to pass a measure never explained to the constituencies, and rushed through the House of Commons against the great majority of our English representatives by so unsparing a use of the Gag, that of 1,495 lines contained in the Bill (as printed in the *Times* of July 31st) only 331 were allowed by Mr. Gladstone to be discussed at all! And yet of these 331 it was found necessary to amend 155!

In the following particulars the injustice of the Bill to Englishmen is obvious:—

**1. The Bill would have overtaxed Englishmen to let Irishmen off their proper share of taxation.**

For the sum to be contributed by Ireland to the Imperial expenditure was less by £800,000 a year than she now contributes, and nearly two millions less than her proper share. The burden thus escaped by Ireland would have fallen on the British taxpayer.

**2. The Bill would have deprived Englishmen of their proper voice in the control of British Finance, and would have rendered more difficult than ever such reforms as "Free Breakfast Tables," reduction of tobacco duties, &c.**

For the revenue of Ireland, as provided by the Bill, would chiefly have arisen from the taxes on such articles as tea, coffee, tobacco, spirits, &c., and consequently "any diminution of indirect taxation would mean bankruptcy to the Irish Government."

**3. The Bill would have reduced the supremacy of the British Parliament to a shadow**

For it would have set up a Parliament in Dublin with almost unlimited powers, and an Irish Executive Government subject to no control except that of the Irish Parliament. And yet there would have been 80 Irish Members left at Westminster to exercise control over the British Government.

**4. The Bill would have placed English Legislation under the heel of the Irish Parliament.**

For the Irish Parliament could dictate from 65 to 80 Irish votes on any division at Westminster. These votes might have been used, for example, to grant British money to Ireland against the wish of the British majority. And Englishmen would have no corresponding influence in the Irish Parliament.

**5. The Bill would have given Ireland practically the power (long desired by the Nationalists) of protecting her industries against English competition.**

For Clause 3 as it passed Committee gave her, by Mr. Gladstone's own interpretation, the power to establish a system of Bounties or premiums for



the encouragement of native manufactures, which would clearly have enabled her to undersell British produce. For instance, an Irish Parliament might favour Irish Factories, by granting a premium on every loom they worked, to the damage of the English manufacturer, and the English working man.

[NOTE.—The Unionist party fought hard to save British manufactures from this injustice; no concession, however, could be obtained but the vague and apparently useless sub-section inserted on August 18th.]

**6. The Bill would have paved the way for further and heavier additions to English taxes.**

For Mr. Gladstone has repeatedly said that he will give Ireland nothing which he will not also agree to give Scotland and Wales. English taxpayers would suffer heavily indeed if Scotland and Wales were given Home Rule (as certainly will be demanded) on the same cheap terms as the Home Rule Bill would have given to Ireland.

**7. The Bill would have lowered the English workingman's wages.**

For the flight of capital from Ireland, and the ruin of many of the employers of Irish labour, would soon have led to the flooding of the English labour market with swarms of Irishmen thrown out of work, and willing to work at starvation wages.

**8. The Bill would have created an unfair Irish competition against our woollen and cotton manufactures.**

For it gave the Dublin Parliament power to alter or repeal the Factory Acts, so as to work longer hours than are allowed in our Lancashire and Yorkshire factories. English working men don't require to be told that the Irish are always ready to work for longer hours and less wages than Englishmen.

**9. The Bill would have closed Ireland as a suitable market to English produce.**

For the Irish producers have long been demanding special patronage in Ireland, and under a native Legislature they would insist on the discouragement of all trade in British goods.

**10. The Bill would have exposed England to additional danger in time of war.**

For (as *United Ireland* admits in a leading article of July 22nd, 1893) the Irish Government might sympathise with England's enemy, as the Irish under native Parliaments have done before.

**11. The Bill would not have fulfilled the hopes raised by Mr. Gladstone of solving the Irish difficulty and clearing the path to British reforms, but, on the contrary, would have created fresh Irish difficulties, and blocked the path to reforms still worse than before.**

For it left 80 Irish members in our Parliament with full power of voting on English and Scottish measures as it suited their purpose. For the exercise of this power they would be totally irresponsible, and they would naturally, indeed certainly, use it to extort further concessions. "No man in his senses," says the Irish Nationalist leader, Mr. Redmond, "can regard the Bill as a full, final and satisfactory settlement of the Irish Question." If their power now is a serious matter, how much more so would it be with an Irish Parliament and Government in Dublin to back



them in all their demands. And meanwhile nearly all the principal issues of the Irish Question were to remain unsettled, for periods of from 3 to 6 years.

**12. The Bill distinctly violated Mr. Gladstone's promise made at Manchester on June 25th, 1886.**

**"I will not be a party to giving Ireland a legislative body to manage Irish concerns, and at the same time to having Irish members in London acting and voting on English and Scotch questions."**

Yet it is said that the Lords have rejected a Bill passed by the Commons in virtue of a mandate from the country.

No such mandate was ever given, for before the General Election no Home Rule Bill was presented to the country.

Besides, the Home Rule Bill which the Government introduced was completely changed in its progress through the Commons. It left the Commons a perfectly different Bill. Now, if there was a mandate from the country for the Home Rule Bill, for which Home Rule Bill did the country give that mandate?

On the following Provisions of the Home Rule Bill no discussion was permitted:—The whole constitution and the mode of election of both Houses of the Irish Legislature. The regulation of its powers to impose taxes and appropriate part of the public revenue. The provisions for cases of disagreement between the two houses. The whole constitution of the newly-created judicial machinery. The distribution of seats among the newly-created constituencies. The whole arrangement as to the terms to be offered to Civil Servants, and to the Constabulary. The provision as to the Postal and Telegraph Service. The creation of a separate Irish Consolidated Fund. The power of the Irish Legislature to alter provisions in the Act creating it. All that related to the Irish Land Question; and last, but not least, the words which purported to secure the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

Was such a measure fairly considered by the Commons?

Was such a measure wrongly rejected by the Lords?

Suppose that the Lords had passed it. As Englishmen, how would you stand to-day?

**Every man of you would be poorer. Every man of you would be less free. Every man, woman and child among you would be less secure in the possession of that birth-right which belongs to you all as citizens of an empire on which the sun never sets.**

The House of Lords,—the reviled aristocracy whom you urged to abolish as an anti-popular body—has struck this blow in defence of the Tax-payers of England, the working men and working women of England, the Free Electors of England.

**The freedom of judgment which you are entitled to exercise on this vital question has been preserved for you by the House of Lords, and by the House of Lords alone.**





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